

006048

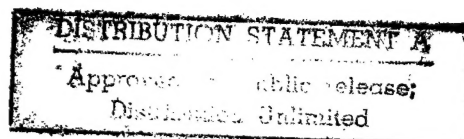
JPRS-EPS-85-108

4 November 1985

19981117 073

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

5  
128  
AΦ7

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

4 November 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

#### CONTENTS

##### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Aczel Speaks at Close of International Meeting (Budapest Television Service, 12 Sep 85).....	1
Briefs	
Aczel, Berecz in Balatonaliga	2
Sarlos-Led Delegation Received by Ceausescu	2
New Ambassador to SFRY	2

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Party Emphasizes Role of Work, Discipline (RUDE PRAVO, 7 Sep 85).....	3
New Data on CSSR Communities (RUDE PRAVO, 28 Aug 85).....	5
Danube Dam Seen as Ecological Disaster (Inge Santner; DIE WELTWOCH, 29 Aug 85).....	6
Misuse of Private Plots Revealed (Marie Konigova; RUDE PRAVO, 20 Sep 85).....	9
Initiative on Abolition of Chemical Weapons Praised (Editorial; RUDE PRAVO, 22 Aug 85).....	11

##### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Ground Forces Armored Personnel Carrier Described (Ulrich Fink; AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, No 9, Sep 85).....	13
Call To Update Continuing Education Curricula (Werner Weigelt; DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No 7, Jul 85).....	17

Higher Education's Social, Economic Role Outlined (Kurt Hager; DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No 9, Sep 85).....	23
Ideological Training of Youth Viewed as Inadequate, Inflexible (Dieter Hoffmann; PAEDAGOGIK, No 5, 1985).....	42
Working Group Assesses Training of Young Scientists, Academics (Ernst Luther, et al.; DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No 8, Aug 85)...	48

#### HUNGARY

Invasion of U.S. Culture via Video Criticized (Robert Friss; NEPSZABADSAG, 5 Sep 85).....	58
Fund for Training of Skilled Workers: Problems, Situation (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 3 Aug 85).....	60
Political, Social, Economic Malaise Causes Literary One (Gyorgy Asperjan; ELET ES IRODALOM, 6 Sep 85).....	72
Role of Emigre Churches in Preserving National Consciousness (Tibor Franka; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 7 Aug 85).....	77

#### POLAND

'Tourists' Wait Long, Unsuccessfully for U.S. Visas (Mirosława Okolska; PERSPEKTYWY, No 34, 23 Aug 85).....	80
Anonymous Worker Writes About Solidarity, Elections (PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, 29 Sep 85).....	83
New Regulations for Poles Working Abroad (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 4 Oct 85).....	87
Ryszard Bender: Church-Democracy Relationship Supports Authority (Ryszard Bender Interview; POLITYKA, 28 Sep 85).....	88
Barcikowski Comments on Changes, Work of Sejm (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 4 Aug 85).....	95
PZPR Role Noted in Pre-Election, Sociocultural Activities (TRYBUNA LUDU, various dates; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 17 Sep 85)...	101
Party Educational Committees Confer	101
Korean, Polish Theoretical Organs Meet	101
Party Training Marked in Lodz, Bydgoszcz	102
Factory Meeting Favors Strong Party Role	104
Party Cultural Dissemination Group Meets	104
Meeting Urges Larger Youth Role, by Alicja Zagorska	104
Stronger Central Control Urged, by Izabella Wajszczuk	105
Effective Party Training Stressed	107



Commentaries on Labor Force, Attitudes Toward Work (TRYBUNA LUDU, 26 Aug 85; ITD, No 34, 25 Aug 85).....	108
Existence of 'Hidden Unemployed' Noted, by Julian Gordon	108
'Myths' of Attitudes Toward Work, Przemyslaw Wojcik	
Interview	111
Worker Blasts 'Consultation Mania', by Jan Plucinski	116
Sejm Delegate Clarifies Points of Higher Education Bill (Zbigniew Satala; GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, 16 Aug 85).....	118
Briefs	
PRON Aids in Woman's Release	122
New Deputy Communications Minister	122

#### ROMANIA

Briefs	
Appointment, Removal of Officials	123

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACZEL SPEAKS AT CLOSE OF INTERNATIONAL MEETING

LD122326 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 85

[Text] An international meeting of heads of scientific institutes affiliated to communist and workers' party central committees, held in Balatonaliga, has concluded its work. The 38 theoreticians from 19 countries held an exchange of views concerning the historical lessons to be drawn from the Second World War and the international experiences of the struggle waged for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The closing speech was delivered by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo and director of the Social Science Institute. He summed up the main ideas expressed during the discussions, and concluded with the following words:

We have often made mistakes and often had to start again. There is a vast difference between making a mistake and becoming disillusioned. We have made many mistakes but have never become disillusioned. We were mistaken in thinking that the socialist revolution would bring the results more rapidly; we were mistaken in thinking that there would be fewer contradictions; we were mistaken in thinking that the process of catching up and overtaking would be a quicker one; we were mistaken over many things, but we have not become disillusioned. While the fate of peoples is at stake there is no room for resignation, and we are preparing for the change of millennia in the expectation of tremendous opportunities and tremendous difficulties. This task can give us meaning and heroism. What we want to achieve now is that besides the great, global problems, much more should be done to ensure that people should have more meaningful lives. We consider that we can also help our fraternal parties struggling in the West and in the Third World; we consider that we can help everyone by making the lives of people, of individuals, in Hungary, more meaningful, beautiful, richer in content.

We consider that the greatest thing that we can do now is to improve people's lives in this sense, so that they can improve the life of the country, improve the quality of socialism. Thank you for your attention.

CSO: 2500/23

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ACZEL, BERECH IN BALATONALIGA--The historical lessons that can be drawn from World War II and the international experiences in the struggle for peace and socialism are among the topics being discussed by heads of the scientific institutes attached to the central committees of communist and workers' parties. The conference is being attended by European, Asian, and Latin American experts. It was opened by Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP central committee and is also attended by Gyoergy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo and director of the Sociology Institute. The conference is being held in Balatonaliga. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 9 Sept 85 LD]

SARLOS-LED DELEGATION RECEIVED BY CEAUSESCU--Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and head of state, received in Bucharest a Hungarian parliamentary delegation led by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo, chairman of the National Assembly. Intentions aimed at the development of bilateral relations were expressed at the discussion. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Sept 85 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO SFRY--Budapest, Sept 6 (MTI)--Janos Kadar, general secretary of the HSWP, Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Istvan Sarlos, speaker of parliament, met Sandor Gyorke, Hungary's new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited to Yugoslavia, who is shortly to leave for his post. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 6 Sept 85 LD]

CSO: 2500/23

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY EMPHASIZES ROLE OF WORK, DISCIPLINE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Sep 85 p 1

[Excerpts] Collectivization of the means of production does not in itself engender a socialist attitude toward common property and a socialist attitude toward work. If it were that simple, a revolution would resolve many things at one stroke. However, from our practical experiences with building a new social order we know that things are much more complicated and involved. We know that old customs and old morality survive and are at work, that the degree of societal and individual knowledge also plays its role, that people acquire socialist consciousness step by step, that we are simply talking about a longterm process. Yes, gaining the rights of a proprietor and becoming a true, wise and conscientious proprietor and therefore a husbandman of common property, is not at all one and the same thing. People who have been liberated from exploitation still need time to learn to cope with their new position of sovereign and unrestricted proprietors of all the commonly owned wealth, to manage it politically, economically and, one can even say, psychologically, and to create collective consciousness and behavior.

One can object that it has been almost 40 years since the first nationalizing decrees were enacted. But from the standpoint of creating and developing a new social order, 40 years is not such a long time. On the other hand, this has to be said: our society has brought up many, many people who are fully aware of the fact that they are working on their own common property and are making decisions and acting accordingly.

They are the ones who perform in their positions as true husbandmen, responsibly, with initiative, creatively, who respect society-wide interests, who conscientiously multiply and protect common property, who show voluntary and conscious discipline. They consistently put in effect the economic policy of the party, be they in managerial functions or in rank and file positions.

But it must be said that there are also others: they handle property entrusted to them carelessly, property which belongs to us all, they enrich themselves at the expense of others, they put up with sloppiness or themselves are guilty of it, they tolerate parasitism, or they even steal collective property. It is necessary to wage an untiring struggle against such people. We should not be indifferent to the fact that there still are people who

are unconcerned and lax about values and things which should be sacred to us. That is the proper socialist attitude toward work and toward common property. Such people say to themselves: no skin off my nose, this does not belong to me. As if it belonged to somebody else! In reality, for a long time now the total material and intellectual wealth of society has belonged to us all. However, these people still have not been able to change that "mine", privately owned, to "ours", belonging to society.

Let us observe how some of our citizens are ready to point a finger at burglars when they are ransacking a private apartment. That is in order, that is in harmony with universal morality. But the same people are just as ready to close their eyes when their co-workers or they themselves are perpetrating a thievery of much greater import and scope--that of socialist property. And that is in sharp conflict with morality. With socialist morality.

To impress upon the consciousness of the people that all that harms society harms them also, that everything that serves society serves them also, that is a considerable task. Not an unrealistic one, however. To the fact that it is realistic bear witness hundreds of thousands of honest people by their conscious socialist attitude toward work and toward common property.

But we cannot confine ourselves just to the area of education and persuasion. It is also necessary to create in the work place conditions conducive to giving preferential treatment in both the material and moral sense to those who work as good husbandmen, who show initiative and who have at heart most of all that which is ours, which is held in common. That is important particularly now, when we are endeavoring to increase the rate of development. And that we cannot achieve either by the old way of thinking, based on self-indulgence, nor by the old methods. That we cannot achieve without new ways of solving problems and fulfilling the tasks of the current stage, without a new wave of initiatives and a constant responsibility of each individual.

Each person, if he is to make correct decisions, behave correctly and work well, needs to know what he wants and why he wants it. It is essential that each of our citizens knows what goals the society sets for itself and what ideas it has about the ways to achieve them.

What does our society need at this time? It needs to create an atmosphere of high expectations, to create strong socialist convictions in men which find their expression in socialist morality, to create a conscious attitude toward work, to further productive activity by working people, to support their joining the struggle against everything which harms our common values, the results of our common labors.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW DATA ON CSSR COMMUNITIES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] At present the population of Czechoslovakia lives in 7,231 municipalities. Under the concept of a municipality, demographers include also our 8 cities which have more than 100,000 inhabitants. Prague, Brno, Bratislava, Plzen, Ostrava, Kosice and Olomouc were joined last year also by Liberec.

Worldwide developments tend toward the consolidation of communities. We can trace this also in historical accounts of our lands. A Trebon manuscript dating from the beginning of the 15th century states that there are 33,323 villages in Bohemia. Records from 1831 mention 11,951 villages, 227 small townships and 287 towns.

The fastest rate of consolidation occurred during the past 30 years, mostly as a result of the socialization of agriculture. That process is slowing down; in 1984 only 6 municipalities disappeared as a result of this trend in CSR, none in SSR. While in 1930 our municipality had an average of 919 inhabitants, this year it already has 2,141 inhabitants.

12605

CSO: 2400/580

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DANUBE DAM SEEN AS ECOLOGICAL DISASTER

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German 29 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by Inge Santner: "The Rape of the Danube takes its Course"]

[Text] The realists were right all along; the environmentalists were "knocked out." The Hungarian Government gave the green light to the hotly debated Danube power plant system Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros. A mammoth project with unforeseeable results is underway.

We are dealing here with the largest construction, and at the same time the greatest problems associated with all the planned Danube holding stages. The Austrian power plant Hainburg, which almost caused a political crisis and is still on hold, would be dwarfed by it. Even among the Budapest civil servants there is talk of "gigantomania" [obsession with great sizes].

The planning of the sinfully expensive undertaking, which is actually not desired by the Hungarians, goes back to 1951, when Nature still seemed to be an inexhaustible warehouse for bold technicians. At that time Budapest and Prague agreed to utilize bilaterally and extensively the water-power of the Danube at the point of convergence of the two countries with Austria. In 1977 a so-called "States Agreement" was adopted. The initiation of construction was first set for 1978 and then postponed many times.

A short time ago the decisive details of the plans that were in the drawer for so long came to light. Between the Slovak village of Gabčíkovo and the Hungarian village of Nagymaros near the bishopric city of Esztergom a triple holding system should be constructed for about 2.4 billion Swiss francs with a total of 880 megawatt turbine capacity.

For the purpose of the best possible activation of the sluggish Danube the choice fell upon a "damming and spillway arrangement," that is upon the most drastic of all technologies, which so far was never applied anywhere to the Central European Danube. It was based upon the principle that river water is not used continuously but retained above the turbines to be released only in times of increased demand for power.

For this purpose it is necessary first to shift a 25 kilometer long section of the Danube, which today forms the Czech-Hungarian border, into a new artificial channel that lies wholly within the territory of the CSSR. In the

old bed of the proud river of today only a wretched rill will flow in the future.

An additional need is the provision for a 61 square kilometer large reservoir holding 60 million cubic meters of water and whose backwater reaches back to Bratislava (Pressburg). At intervals such tremendous masses of water will be released that the level of the new 180 meter broad Danube Canal - by the way the largest canal of that type in the world - rises immediately up to four meters and requires dikes that rise up to 18 meters above the terrain.

The state journalists of Budapest bravely attempted to minimize the true extent of the destruction of Nature. They praised the power plant system as "sensible to a high degree" (according to the "Budapress" Agency). It would provide seven percent of the total electricity requirement, save the importation of 700,000 tons of petroleum annually, and "increase the touristic value of the Danube landscape."

Nevertheless, not all shut their eyes. In 1983 the biologist Janos Vargha gathered around himself a group of concerned power plant opponents and founded the private association Fuggetlen Duna Kor, East Europe's first environmental protest movement.

Vargha spoke openly of a "bilateral insane undertaking that costs not only 100 square kilometers of bordering woodlands." He prophesied a dramatic drop in the groundwater table ("fertile land would be transformed into prairie") and the permanent danger of flooding to the adjoining cities ("this also applies to the historic jewel that is Esztergom"). Indeed, the worst of all, however, would be the threat of pollution to a drinking water reservoir for 13 million people that has formed in the gravel beds of the Danube plain.

In the spring of 1984, Fuggetlen Duna Kor began collecting signatures for a protest petition to the parliament. "That was quite a job." Vargha remembers. He and his associates struggled up and down stairs for weeks in order to convince registered voters to write down their full name and address on informal lists even though they risked thereby the displeasure of the authorities. That the police looked the other way, is self-explanatory. They feared the environmentalists could let loose an avalanche of additional citizens' initiatives on perhaps even more explosive issues.

Surprisingly, the proud number came to almost 10,000 signatures. In the late fall of the previous year Vargha could present an accurately counted 6,068 of them to the members of parliament. The balance of 4,000 was confiscated by the police.

Among the signatories were counted many prominent persons in the art and sports scene, for example the former athlete Andras Balczó, the television moderator Michaly Raday, the Gypsy songstress Laura Farago, and the actors Imre Sinkovits, Ferenc Bessenyei, and Hilda Gobbi. Insiders provided information; the secret network of sumpathizers reached up to Acting Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai and up to National Bank Vice President Janos Fekete. Little by little even official institutions dared to formulate their aversion to the



transformation of the Danube meadows biotope into an "Engineers' Landscape." The otherwise so cautious Academy of Sciences perchance requested suddenly a "complete research report on the ecological impact" of the monster design.

To keep it short: a couple happy months long the Hungarians known to be optimistic hoped in fact for a victory of logic. Many signs indicated that the party and government would have preferred not touching that hot coal. Although the Czechs on their side of the border were already busily working on the dikes of the future Danube, in Hungary up until August 1985 nothing much was happening. From the ruling circles in Budapest it was heard now and again that the repeated testing of the environmental impact must first be concluded. In addition there was a lack of funds. The treasury was totally depleted.

In the end, of course, neither pressure from below nor the accumulation of uneasiness up above helped. With heavy heart the Hungarians had to understand that no path detours the destruction of their Danube. For the authorities in Prague do even consider letting the changeable Hungarian comrades gracefully out of their contractual construction obligation. Different than for the Hungarians the great power plant for the Czechs and Slovaks is not only a source of electricity that became problematic. Along with the energy, it also creates additional international importance for them; thanks to the widened channel, ocean vessels will be able to sail from the Black Sea to the Danube terminal of Bratislava. In the light of such a national business, environmental concerns seem to them to be absolutely trifling.

The 73 year old Hungarian Communist Party Chief Janos Kadar, on the other hand, already politically tired and no longer pugnacious, might not desire risking any further fraternal strife. Moreover, he is already in ill repute as an outsider and quasi-small capitalist of the East Block. Breach of contract with a Marxist neighbor would be the last straw that would maintain his reputation in Moscow.

The greatest environmental disgrace in Central Europe cannot be avoided. The Hungarians must march in with open eyes. Red tactics triumph, of course, even over the environmental knowledge of man.

12446  
CSO: 2300/502

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MISUSE OF PRIVATE PLOTS REVEALED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Marie Konigova]

[Text] More and more the people call our attention to the improper use of agricultural land. The plots which have been transferred to our citizens for temporary use to grow fruit or feed for small animals are being used for constructing recreational facilities. Jan Roubal, a deputy chairman of the Federal Committee of People's Control, spoke of this problem in the agricultural and food committees of the Federal Assembly when they dealt with citizens' complaints.

A check through which this controlling organ reviewed the implementation of the Czechoslovak Government's resolution of October 1981 concerning the management of the agricultural land fund showed that these complaints were justified. By the middle of 1984 growers and breeders in Bohemia, associated in the organizations of the National Front, and other citizens were offered almost 27,000 hectares of agricultural land. The latter involved the plots which, either by their size or location, are not suitable for large-scale agricultural production. Of this figure, 19,000 hectares have actually been transferred. In Slovakia, an additional 10,000 hectares have been earmarked for the same purpose.

However, numerous problems cropped up in connection with the transfer of these plots to our citizens. The first problem which the workers of the People's Control identified involves an inconsistent attitude on the part of responsible workers at the time of land selection. The second problem concerns the incorrect drawing up of contracts. In spite of that, the most numerous complaints dealt with the misuse of these plots, namely, their use as construction sites. Thus, for example, 10 brick summer cottages appeared in the vicinity of Trebon without permit. In South Moravian Kraj, the number of constructions in which the land in question was not exempted from the agricultural fund totaled thousands. On 13 hectares belonging to the Libormerice JZD in Chrudim Okres, the "small cultivators and breeders" built approximately 300 countryside cottages. In one year since the issuance of the above-mentioned government resolution, some 4,270 cases of building without permit were found on 623 hectares in Slovakia.

In most cases, however, people do not exploit the permit to use land. And thus genuine small cultivators and breeders, including holders of backyard plots, enriched the market in the Czech Socialist Republic by 112,000 tons of vegetables and 107,000 tons of fruits and delivered 3,400 tons of poultry, rabbit and lamb meat. In Slovakia, these individuals delivered 15,000 heads of cattle, 15,000 pigs, 42,000 sheep, and 945,000 rabbits. Their efforts are beneficial for all of us. For this reason, it is especially sad to see that some individuals try to get such land purely for speculative purposes rather than for the purpose originally intended. However, it is a fact that in many cases they can do this because of the attitude of the national committees which draw up these contracts. The responsible officials of the national committees often do not even know for which plot they are issuing the permits. And they do not subsequently check to determine what happens to the land involved. It is necessary to state that a single official who in most cases is responsible for managing agricultural land in the okres national committee cannot do the entire job by himself. And this is one of the reasons why we do not see the satisfactory implementation of the October 1981 government resolution.

So far, any individual who builds a summer cottage or a house (in many cases we can talk of villas) on an agricultural plot is obviously better off--in comparison with the value of the constructed facility--than even when he has to pay a small fine. For all practical purposes, the national committees never decide to tear down a building erected without a permit. Such a decision is extremely unpopular. However, it is obvious that it will be necessary to do so in the future.

1277  
CSO: 2400/610

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# INITIATIVE ON ABOLITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRAISED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 85 p 1

[Editorial: "For a Europe Free of Chemical Weapons"]

[Excerpts] It is to the credit of the patient and principled policies of the Warsaw Pact countries that international imperialism and above all, the NATO Pact failed to succeed in unleashing a new war. Nonetheless, the threat of a conflict is still present and its danger is increasing in proportion to the arms race. The nations in Europe welcome every proposal which might bring about a change in the ominous development, and therefore, the initiative of the United Socialist Party of Germany (SED) and of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) -- that a zone free of chemical weapons be created in Europe -- met a positive response.

Next to nuclear arms, chemical weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind. Although the Geneva Convention of 1925 prohibits their use, they are still being stockpiled in military arsenals. In the framework of preparations for an attack against the socialist states the Pentagon developed plans for their use. Whole teams of scientists in the USA are being misused for the development of chemical weapons. In addition to new toxic chemical compounds, their research resulted also in the so called binary munition for which it is characteristic that two relatively slightly poisonous components are placed separately in a missile; it is only in its flight toward its target that the two combine into a highly toxic substance. Chemical combat agents are so toxic that very few milligrams suffice to kill a man.

Thousands of tons of chemical weapons are stockpiled in Europe, especially west from our borders, in the FRG, where they are at the disposal of US advance units. No matter how well guarded the underground storage may be, there can be no guarantee that the containers are indestructible and that no catastrophe can occur. Its scope would many times exceed the outcome of such incidents with toxic industrial chemicals as in Seveso, Italy, or Bhopal, India.

The presence of chemical weapons in the densely populated territory of Europe poses a threat to the entire continent. Their use would have especially grave consequences for the civilian population; an enormous territory would be contaminated. In case of a conflict in which chemical weapons

were to be, the ratio of military and civilian casualties would amount -- according to some estimates -- to 1:20, because there is no adequate protection against current chemical combat substances despite all sophisticated medical safety measures. According to reports by experts, the final impact of chemical weapons will not be behind the effect of nuclear arms.

The joint initiative of the SED and the SDP proceeds from the conviction that one of the most pressing issues is ridding our planet of chemical weapons. The long discussions of the SED and SPD working group which took place from March 1984 to June 1985 had to overcome many obstacles before arriving at a specific proposal for an agreement on a zone free of chemical weapons. Its outline was presented by the representatives of the SED and SDP at a press conference in Bonn. It was recommended that the zone include the territories of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, FRG, GDR, CSSR, and Poland. In the first stage, the zone would include at least the FRG, GDR, and also the CSSR, because these states are on the boundary dividing the two systems of alliances in Central Europe.

The initiative has already received international appreciation, because its implementation would mean not only a real step in the right direction toward disarmament, but it would also boost the trust among states with different social systems and facilitate other agreements on disarmament. The zone free of chemical weapons could mean a contribution of European states toward a complete ban of chemical weapons and toward their complete liquidation in the world. The establishment of the zone would mean a reaction against the stepped-up chemical arms race and against the introduction of new types of chemical weapons; it would drastically defuse the danger of a chemical war and thus of every kind of war in Europe.

The states included in the above-mentioned zone would pledge that they will rid their territories of chemical weapons or that they will keep it free of such weapons, that they would neither produce nor obtain chemical weapons, and that they will not permit other states to deploy or produce them or transport them over their territory. By the same token, the countries in the zone would appeal to the states which possess chemical weapons that they respect the statutes of the zone and never use chemical weapons against it. In addition, the proposal contains the principles for national and international control.

The CSSR, which has clearly advocated during every international forum the ban and neutralization of chemical weapons, welcomes the political initiative of the SED and SPD aimed at the establishment of a European zone free of chemical weapons; the CSSR expressed its readiness to participate in the implementation of that initiative.

The proposal of the SED and SPD represents an initiative intended to support the Geneva talks in the framework of a worldwide unban on chemical weapons. It proceeds from the principle of equality and equitable security, from respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states. It is an initiative following the main direction of European and world political thought.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GROUND FORCES ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 4 Jul 85)  
pp 64-69

[Article by Major Ulrich Fink: "SPW-70 Battle Power on Wheels"]

[Text] One after the other, three SPW-70s appeared behind the small hill. The first veered immediately to the right to cover the second which pressed forward. The last remained at the bend in the road so that it could provide covering fire for the other two if necessary. Second Lieutenant Schmidt commands the group which the commander designated as a combat reconnaissance unit. And it was no accident that the commander stopped at precisely this spot. The simulated enemy unit has set up a road block about a hundred meters ahead to delay the pursuers. The Lieutenant with his noncoms and troops are to reconnoiter the obstacle and search for mines.

While the engineering unit with its equipment remains behind the hill, the motorized rifle troops disembark from the first armored personnel carrier and advance toward the road block in short thrusts. "Not so easy to get in and out through these small hatches between the second and third wheel pair," observed trooper Martin Metschke later. "One has to be rather agile unless he doesn't mind running around with bruises." The 24-year-old master plumber from Karl Marx Stadt appreciates as a MPi rifleman the advantage compared to the SPW-60 PB: "Through these hatches, we can embark and disembark with relatively good protection. In the case of the other SPW, the motorized riflemen always had to enter and exit through the hatches on top of the hull aft of the turret.

In the vehicle itself, there is room for the crew--driver, commander and gunner--plus up to eight soldiers. The troop benches (2 x 4 places) located in the middle of the hull can be folded up so that 5 stretchers can be set up for transporting the wounded when the SPW is used as an ambulance.

Meanwhile, the engineers have moved up and are protected as they proceed to remove the obstacle by the nearby motorized riflemen. Also, the SPW gunners can provide covering fire with the turret mounted machine guns. Both the 14.5-mm MG KWPT and the 7.62-mm MG PKT are provided for use against attacking personnel and armaments. "With the 14.5 mm one can also successfully combat lightly armored targets," confidently asserts gunner Uwe Schauer. The KPWT has a sight range up to 2,000 meters and can fire 600 rounds per minute. Its ammunition supply consists of 500 rounds which are fed via 50-cartridge belts. The ammunition supply of the PKT is 2,000 rounds. Its belt holds 250 rounds. This machine gun has a firing rate of 650 to 700 rounds per minute and a sight range of 1,500 meters.

Also, the motorized riflemen can open fire at close range from the SPW through oval ports, 3 left and 4 right, which can be opened in the sides of the hull. In addition, firing mounts are installed in the SPW for the tank rifles and other protective weapons.

The driver sits forward left, a not unfamiliar place for the soldiers of Lieutenant Schmidt's platoon. Here in the John Schehr regiment during the first half year of their basic defense service, they are trained not only as motorized riflemen but also learn at the same time to master the 11.5 ton SPW from the driver's seat. One of them is Toni Zanirato. The electrical installer from Boehlen values highest the vehicle's powerful engines. "Each of the 2 8-cylinder engines can produce 90 kilowatts at any time. With that power one can really take off whether on or off the road. There for example the SPW can do 80 km/h." Also, he swears by the tire-pressure control unit. With it he can continuously control tire pressure according to road conditions from the driver's cab while standing still or in motion. "If I decrease the internal tire pressure, the off-road performance improves for driving through mud, marsh, dry sand or snow." He also finds it good that this system automatically maintains the prescribed pressure in the tires. He can drive on even with punctured tires if the air loss does not exceed the output of the compressor. "Not even when one of the two engines fails do I have to stop the vehicle in the middle of the battle field. With just half engine power, the crew can still continue the battle to a certain extent, for a special mechanism simply switches off the defective engine."

This is possible because the power from each engine is transmitted separately. Accordingly, the torque of the right engine is transmitted to the wheels of the first and third axles; that of the left, to the wheels of the second and fourth axles.

From his activities as assistant driving instructor in the training company, private Eckhard Fischer appreciates the very good off road performance of the SPW-70: "For turning around with the fully 7.5-meter-long vehicle, I only need a 12.6-meter radius. And the vehicle solidly negotiates 30 degree inclines when traction is good. The maximum allowable roll angle is 25 degrees." Trenches and ditches up to 2 meters wide are no obstacle. "Likewise, rivers and lakes. The SPW-70 can negotiate them with little preparation, and this can be effected while underway."

For this purpose, the Soviet engineers equipped the vehicle with a water jet drive which makes possible, for example, the crossing of a 300-meter-wide river in just 2 to 3 minutes.

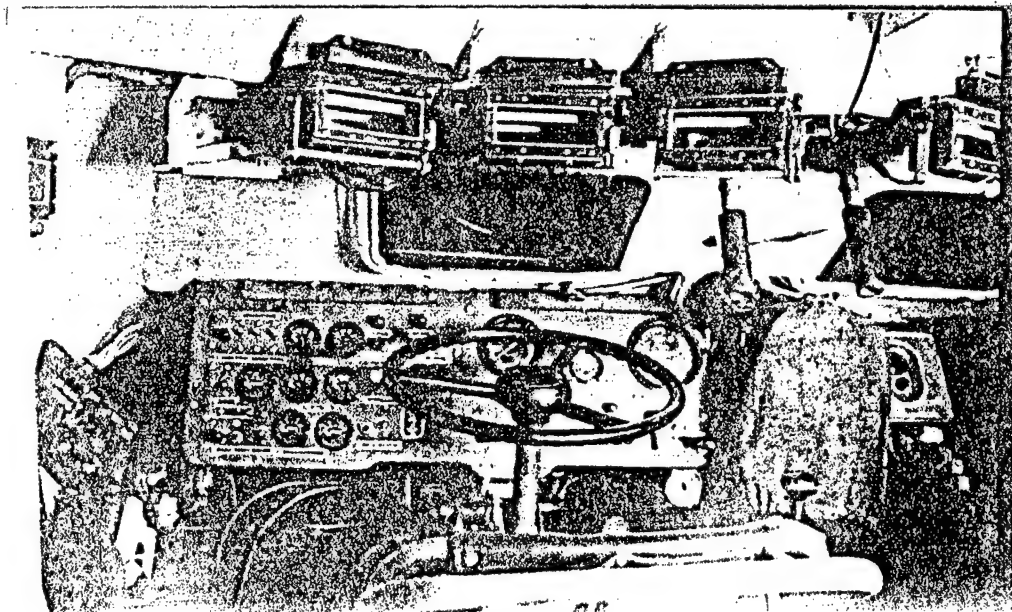
A total of 11 vision blocks--4 each for the driver and commander, 2 over the exits and 1 pointing aft for the gunner in the turret--orient the crew comfortably with the outside world. In addition, both the driver and commander have a night vision unit which makes it possible to use the combat vehicle for night missions also.

Communications with the outside is assured at all times by the SPW's built-in radio station. The driver, commander and gunner communicate with each other over an intercom circuit with 3 jacks.

Now Lieutenant Schmidt can report via radio to his commander that the way is clear for the following unit. The engineers have cleared a path through the mine field laid by the enemy, and the motorized riflemen of the battalion sit again in their SPWs. Their mission is finished.

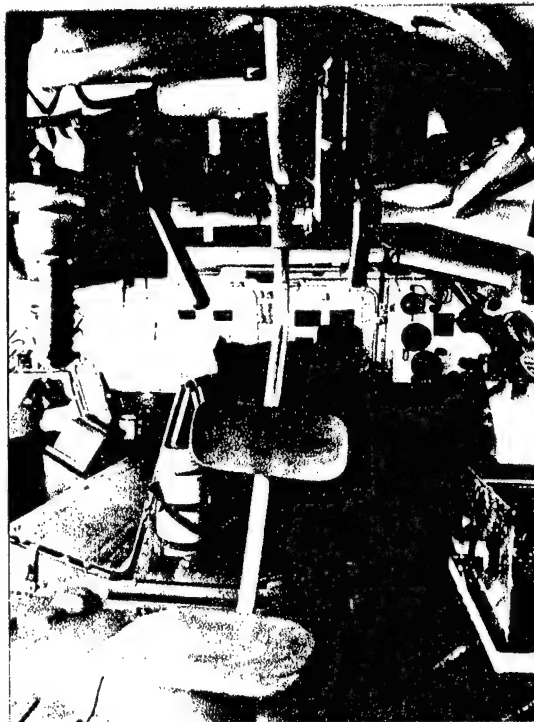
A short time later when the tanks and the following motorized rifle units can pass safely through the minefield, it is due to the efforts of the detail which has long since rejoined and moved on with the battle formation.





In the SPW-70 all switches and engine monitoring indicators are arranged on the instrument panel in front of the driver for easy viewing





Gunner Schauer: "After the motorized riflemen disembark, we can give them effective fire cover with the turret weapons."

9160  
CSO: 2300/540

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CALL TO UPDATE CONTINUING EDUCATION CURRICULA

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 33 No 7, Jul 85 pp 195-198

[Article by Werner Weigelt: "We Need More College-Level Continuing Education Courses"]

[Text] The decisions and publications of recent years, setting out the directives for the development of continuing education of cadres in industry, have emphasized the necessity for the further evolution of an academic profile of continuing education measures and the improvement of its efficacy for practical purposes by the rapid transfer of the latest scientific findings and research results. These tasks, generally applicable to continuing education, also affect the ongoing development of courses as one of the main features of continuing education at universities and colleges.

In general, the figures for courses and attendance have climbed steadily since 1972. Most courses conducted by universities and colleges have concentrated on mathematics/natural sciences, engineering sciences and economics. Compared with 1980, the figures for courses and attendance had risen almost 2.5 times by 1983. It follows that such events at universities and colleges assumed a substantial volume in these scientific fields.

We note that the figures for courses and attendance jumped sharply in 1981-1982, with another rise recorded in 1983. This happened in implementation of the directives on further education arising from the SED CC Politburo decision of 18 March 1980, the Fifth Conference on Higher Education and the Tenth SED Congress. The development described is the result of efforts by universities and colleges to practically implement these policy orientations and improve the efficacy of scientific discoveries for the development of scientific-technological advances in the national economy.

In the years to come, greater challenges will also arise on the university relative to the continuing education of natural scientists, engineers and economists, due in particular to the changing economic and social conditions resulting from the further evolution of the developed socialist society, the growing numbers of college and technical school graduates in the national economy, the requirements arising from the reorganization of the education and

continuing education of engineers and economists and, above all, the objective manifestations in connection with the development of scientific-technological advances as earlier mentioned in the theses for the conference on continuing education.(1)

All this involves great challenges to the qualitative and quantitative continuing education performance of universities and colleges in general, in particular to the development and organization of continuing education courses and other brief continuing education measures.

In the following I will indicate some conditions and requirements affecting the development of courses at universities and colleges"

-- The material-technical potential of continuing education at colleges (which carry on the majority of continuing education at institutions of higher education) is already largely exploited by the volume provided at the present time. Any expansion of the offer of courses at these colleges will require the increased utilization of facilities and institutions of their partners in industry.

-- Large demands on the quality and efficacy of courses for the development of the national economy's efficiency require primarily the best possible quality of research and the day-to-day application of significant research results. The decline in future matriculations, due to demographics, presents us with opportunities to strengthen research at the colleges and therefore facilitate with greater differentiation to organize continuing education with greater relevance to research and the needs of various groups of cadres.

-- The improvement of the efficacy of courses at colleges requires greater concentration on the main tasks of universities and colleges with regard to continuing education, in other words on the transfer of the latest scientific discoveries and own research results as well as on objectives which can be efficiently realized only at or by institutions of higher education. Also involved is the necessity to set higher standards for the selection of the material taught in college courses. It appears necessary, therefore, to revise the offer of courses at the colleges and abandon continuing education measures that might be handled just as well by other educational institutions.

-- We have learned from experience that the need for short continuing education courses and, consequently, the volume of continuing education activities at the colleges, tends to increase well above the average whenever new fields of science become broadly relevant to production and other sectors of the national economy. We may expect that, analogous to the current interest in microelectronics, future developments will be concerned with such fields as data processing, biotechnics and technology, the use of environmental technologies, and so on.

-- While the advance of the combines and the improvement of their economic and scientific-technological efficiency made for greater demands on continuing education, it also yielded more opportunities for the combines to themselves

satisfy some of this greater need for continuing education. That provides some relative relief to the colleges as well as opportunities for a partial change in the substantive structure of their offer of continuing education.

Concerning the further substantial definition of the courses offered by the institutions of higher education, we must begin with the assumption that the universities and colleges are educational facilities where, to ensure modern education at a high theoretical standard, research is carried on and the development of international science steadily observed. The pursuit of the development of science as well as their own research efforts represent the precondition for constantly updating instruction. At the same time these processes have the effect that theoretical previous work is created at universities and colleges in the scientific disciplines, diverse interdisciplinary fields and many scientific issues and problems, for the benefit of industry and other sectors of the national economy.

The colleges are thus able to assist industry in the provision of the necessary scientific and educational lead and to affect the speed-up of scientific-technological advances. These opportunities and potentials of the colleges will have to be even more extensively and effectively utilized in the further molding of continuing education.

The courses realize a broad range of substantial objectives. In general, we must assume that the continuing education of engineering and economics cadres should be most concerned to achieve the greatest possible efficacy of the continuing education of these specialized cadres by the actions of all institutions and facilities involved in this process. Consequently, it will be necessary above all for the various educational institutions by the division of labor to optimally use their specific facilities and potential, more precisely define their own continuing education profile and thereby contribute to bring closer to a socially more effective solution the problems of the substantial division of labor and cooperation between colleges and other educational institutions. This should include the reciprocal use of material-technical facilities and teaching personnel.

I said earlier that research represents a crucial basis for courses at colleges. The direction of research therefore essentially defines the profile of the offer of courses at the various colleges and of the courses themselves. Colleges are specially responsible for the development of basic research, the development of scientific disciplines and fields. By discharging this responsibility, the colleges provide the prerequisites for the educational lead required for continuing long-term scientific-technological progress in the national economy.

The Ninth SED CC Plenum reiterated that the creation of an educational lead is one of the priorities for the work of the universities and colleges. That also applies to the continuing professional education of university and technical school graduates. It must be based on a scientific lead and requires greater concentration on conveying the results and discoveries of basic research. Consequently, the necessity of a decided stress on basic research at our colleges also arises from the demands on continuing professional education.

Many departments and sectors in the technical sciences have tied up their research capacities either to a large extent or even altogether by contracts with industrial combines. In this connection we are bound at least to ask whether the kind of assignments involved in these contracts affects the research profile and, consequently, the research results achieved by these departments, which may be transferred to the factory floor by continuing education measures, and whether it will then be possible to meet the demand for an education lead which definitely ranges beyond existing knowledge.

The situation in the operation of courses is further characterized by the fact that the colleges carry on very few courses which might be considered courses of study as a result of which a previously determined body of knowledge emerges and may be called upon. Analyses reveal that the overwhelming majority of courses offered by colleges last only a few days--a week or less--and that the opportunity of organizing courses as educational events in the above meaning is evidently used to a very limited extent only. In 1984, only 15 of the 600 courses in the fields of engineering and natural sciences and economics in the INFORMATOR took 4 weeks.

The following may be suggested for the further evolution of a college-appropriate course profile:

1. Universities and colleges will continue to have to flexibly respond to topical requirements and short-term requests from industry as well as to use a considerable part of their continuing education potential by brief continuing education measures of an informational and overviewing nature to rapidly and flexibly familiarize industrial cadres with new discoveries by national and international scientific developments.

In view of similar objectives, substantive overlapping with continuing educational measures of other educational institutions will not be avoidable in future either. For the satisfaction of continuing educational needs, it would be desirable, though, for colleges to increasingly participate in the continuing education measures of other educational institutions and, as per plan, make available to them college teachers and scientific personnel.

Continuing education courses conducted at the colleges proper should concentrate specially on the transfer of their own new research results and other objectives which can only be realized efficiently at the college.

2. It will be necessary in future for the universities and colleges more emphatically to design and offer courses on topics significant for future developments and thereby to considerably improve the efficacy of short continuing education courses for the long-range development of scientific-technological progress in industry and other sectors of the national economy as well as for the achievement of results at top international standards. In connection with the long-range orientation of research in industry and the evolution of industry specific basic research in more important combines, courses designed to provide educational leads with a wide time horizon are gaining increasing importance.

Our colleges have available qualitative reserves precisely with a view to new future oriented research results and scientific discoveries for the preparation of new technologies and products. In cooperation with the facilities of the Academy of Sciences, a field of further education is here opening up for the universities and colleges, which cannot be properly developed by other educational institutions. In future, continuing educational measures of that type will need to essentially codetermine the offer of specific courses at the colleges. Such courses should resolutely appeal to cadres who, especially in industry, are responsible for the drafting and constant perfection of long-range scientific-technological development conceptions in the various industries and combines as well as for the preparation and development of new efficient processes and high quality products.

At the present time, the departments and scientific sections at the colleges are the chief suppliers of courses. The substantial differentiation as well as interdisciplinary work--wherever this is developed--relevant to the actual courses are implemented by these structural units. The increasing complexity of assignments in research and with regard to the development of scientific-technological advances in industry will require an even more complex approach to continuing education. In view of the new dimensions of interdisciplinary work arising in this connection, individual sections and departments may turn out to be too narrow to design complex and interdisciplinary curricula for courses in fields important to the national economy. To achieve the greater economic efficacy of continuing education measures, directed in particular at educational leads and orientations to the long-range development of scientific-technological progress and industrial research, the colleges will be called upon to observe their scientific responsibility for these measures at a higher standard and on the basis of college science conceptions setting out the potentials and the contribution of their research to the implementation of the economic strategy.

Realization of a greater and more comprehensive scientific responsibility for continuing education at the colleges requires a much closer connection between research and continuing education by raising the responsibility of such bodies at colleges for continuing education, which are responsible for research.

3. The precise definition of the offer of courses at universities and colleges would also be served by greater emphasis on courses which, as systematically organized events for the acquisition of basic and special knowledge, should be directed to the creation of educational leads for the wide application in industry of new fields of science.

Developments such as now in the field of microelectronics, with far reaching consequences for the continuing education of university and technical school graduates, will in future occur in other fields also. Consequently, courses in the form of basic and refresher courses will continue to gain importance in the coming years. They will help to widely realize in the national economy the application of new fields of science, such as data processing, automation and robot equipment, biotechnology, and so on.

It is also conceivable by such groups of courses to contribute to the satisfaction of the demand for specialists--rising consequent on the wide application of new fields of science in the national economy--, because it will be impossible for some time to come to meet this demand by training postgraduates, for example in the field of data processing. Such curricula would actually aim at retraining cadres who, due to their training and practical experience, dispose of the appropriate prerequisites with regard to basic knowledge of natural sciences, mathematics and engineering.

In connection with the rising importance of research and development for the improvement of labor productivity vis-a-vis production implementation as well as in view of the greater emphasis on the rationalization and modernization of the production processes, we foresee the necessity of the future reinforcement of the production preparatory sections by cadres who are currently dealing with other assignments. To work in research and development, they will need more and broader knowledge, working methods and modes of thought, and they will have to acquire these mainly within the framework of continuing education at colleges. Course sequences, designed as complete curricula, are quite conceivable for accomplishing this gradual acquisition of the appropriate knowledge. They also would substantially contribute to the sharper definition of the offer of courses at universities and colleges.

Together with the sharper definition of the offer of courses in the above mentioned directions, it will be necessary for other aspects regarding their effectiveness for the national economy to move toward the center of attention and obtain practical consideration in the determination of course objectives and contents. When we start from the assumption that the main function of courses is that of transferring new discoveries and research results, this implies principally the observance of greater responsibility for the planned and careful selection and definition of the new discoveries and research results to be transferred by way of the courses, taking into account the optimum time of their transfer, the assurance of the scientific environment needed for the application of these discoveries, greater purposiveness of the courses with respect to a more exactly defined circle of students and the efficient methodological organization of the courses.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See W.Kehr,W.Weigelt,W.Wolter, "On the Specific Contribution of Universities, Colleges and Technical School to the Continuing Professional Education of College and Technical School Cadres--Theses," DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No 2/1985, p 24.

11698

CSO: 2300/534



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HIGHER EDUCATION'S SOCIAL, ECONOMIC ROLE OUTLINED

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 33 No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 16 Jul 85) pp 245-254

[Text of speech by Prof Kurt Hager, member of the SED Central Committee politburo, delivered at the Conference of Rectors of GDR Universities and Technical Colleges, held 1-2 Jul 85 in Weimar: "University Affairs Following the 10th Congress of the SED Central Committee"]

[Text] The SED party program, unanimously adopted by the ninth party congress, sets down the strategic direction for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. We are abiding by that direction.

The 11th party congress will have to assess how far we have come in the implementation of that strategic objective. Mainly two aspects will have to be taken into account which the program is referring to.

For one thing, the shaping of the developed socialist society is a lengthy historic process. It embraces basic changes in all public sectors which in their totality are aimed at creating the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

Secondly, the shaping of the developed socialist society calls for a constant regard for the connection and interactions among the economy, science, education and culture, politics and ideology. Economic growth based on comprehensive intensification is decisive for it, yet underestimating the influence of such factors as education, training, the cultural standard of living and cultural interests on social development would be wrong. Interaction is in effect there.

The 11th party congress is going to consider how our party policy, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace, can continue to be carried out with success and how the SED program is to be purposefully implemented in years to come.

In his speech at the 10th Central Committee session Comrade Honecker affirmed: "On the basis of our party program we have made significant sociopolitical advances from which we can now proceed. From the outset we let ourselves be



guided by that a lengthy historic period is needed for bringing into full effect the advantages and impulses of socialism in conformity with the requirements of the developed socialist society. We are finding ourselves at a significant stretch of the way here."

Our work will over the long run continue to be determined by the main task in its united economic and social policies. The unity between economic and social policy is no temporary measure but reflects our course as directed at the well-being of our people. "With this policy the SED is going to cross the threshold into the year 2000," Comrade Honecker has said. "We are implementing the economic performance growth needed for it in accordance with the tried and tested economic strategy for the 1980's, i.e., through the comprehensive intensification of all economic sectors, in still more broadly linking the results of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, whereby further to increase, step by step, the people's material and cultural standard of living."

Production growth has already taken place by and large, almost exclusively, on the basis of intensification. While the national income between 1980 and 1984 rose from M 187 billion to 222 billion, the number of manpower in the producing sectors of the economy nearly stayed the same (1980: 6.8 million; 1984: 6.9 million). The proportion between production consumption and GNP shrank from 65.5 to 63 percent. The specific consumption of economically significant energy sources, raw materials and semifabricates dropped annually by an average of 6 percent from 1981 to 1984.

Economic development in the capitalist countries by contrast, as Erich Honecker demonstrated at the 10th Central Committee session, is marked by meager growth, high unemployment and the emergence of a so-called "new poverty." The ruling circles in those countries are unable to solve the social problems.

This analysis can be complemented by further facts. The U.S. Federal Reserve Bank reports that capacity utilization--full use made of the productive forces--dropped further in May, to 80.9 percent, in U.S. industry.

Another example: A business-cycle expert at West Berlin's economic research institute announced the other day about the FRG's economic situation: "Unless something is done to stimulate domestic demands, we shall stay where we are--with 2.5 million unemployed," and "if we have bad luck, the current recovery period will end some time in 1987; then we will have still more unemployed" (HANDELSBLATT, 24 June 1985).

The EC Commission, in predicting the trends the other day, remarked the growth rate of the Community's gross domestic production would only hover around 2.3 percent this year and next. Unemployment in 1985 would be around 11.2 percent, around 11.1 percent in 1986. No noteworthy reduction in unemployment thus is in sight.

Unemployment also hits many in the academic professions. Of them--teachers, engineers, architects, natural scientists, physicians and others--115,000 were jobless by the end of 1984 in the FRG. The journal DER SPIEGEL comments: "Anyone who attends a university risks the way into a blind alley. The

number of jobless academics grows from year to year. University graduates of all types are standing in line" (17 May 1985). This trend is continuing.

Despite the weak labor market, however, corporations and banks are making enormous profits. The 100 largest corporations in the ADP sector made as much as \$ 132.08 billion in 1984. Only 25 of these 100 corporations made no profit, and nine of them went into the red. True enough, there have been bankruptcies and massive dismissals in the computer field of late. One can, on the other hand, not ignore that a mighty material and intellectual potential exists in the United States, Japan, the FRG and France and remarkable scientific-technological accomplishments are being achieved.

In talking about the contradictory development of the capitalist economy we merely state facts. I made nothing of such facts as the antagonisms between the United States and Japan, Western Europe and the United States, Japan and Western Europe and so forth, nor did I comment on the complete indebtedness of the developing countries and the methods of neocolonialism.

Analyses show that nothing has changed in the nature of imperialism. It is and remains a system of exploitation and social injustice, reactionary within and seeking expansion and the suppression of other nations outside. This is something our social scientists ought to present still at greater detail.

The basic mood is pessimistic even in leading circles in capitalist countries. As to our own perspective, we assume that the dynamics of economic development will continue through the 1986-1990 five-year plan, when two tasks have to be resolved simultaneously: further boosting the people's material and cultural standard of living and ensuring our defense. With it, we shall meet our commitment to anti-imperialist solidarity.

"For this perspective," Comrade Erich Honecker announced at the 10th Central Committee session, "there exists a stable basis in the accords on deepening the scientific-technological and economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. We shall continue to make an active contribution to the development of socialist economic integration in line with the CEMA summit resolutions."

The positive results of recent years in our economic and social development show that the economic strategy the 10th party congress issued has stood up well and our party's economic policy is successful. What now matters, as was observed at the 10th Central Committee session, is to lend permanence to our economic growth through comprehensive intensification.

Decisive and accelerating factors for high-grade production efficiency mainly are science and technology. They assume a key position for our successful comprehensive economic integration. Here, as the 10th Central Committee session pointed out, a qualitatively new level of collaboration has to be achieved among the combines, industry, university affairs and the Academy of Sciences.

The scientific-technological revolution leads to rapid development, to a fundamental qualitative change of the productive forces. This brings out points of major emphasis and main trends, so-called "key technologies," causing

penetrating transformations in the economy and the society. Among other things, that relates to:

- the comprehensive application and use of microelectronics and optoelectronics,
- data processing and information technology,
- automated design and production preparation (CAD/CAM),
- introducing new processing technologies, including laser techniques,
- transition to the flexible automation of whole technological production processes,
- exploring, extracting and using domestic raw materials,
- enhanced refining of inorganic and organic raw materials,
- developing novel working materials, e.g. ceramics,
- reuse of waste products (recycling),
- biotechnology,
- energy base development.

At the 10th Central Committee session Comrade Honecker pointed out: "The term 'key technology' does not seem poorly chosen in that, after all, its application is meant to open the door to an economic future with powerful growth borne and promoted more and more by high-tech."

It may be asserted that the transition to the new productive forces and the use of most up-to-date technologies is already successfully under way in the GDR. We have established an efficient microelectronic industry, in chemistry and metallurgy refinement measures are being carried out with success, modern plants have been set up such as the cold-rolling mill in Eisenhuettenstadt and the TV electronics plant in Berlin, and considerable changes in the production profiles of entire industrial branches have been initiated. This tendency is going to continue more strongly.

The systematic application of the key technologies will bring about more and more a revolution in the productive forces with incisive structural changes within and between the public sectors like production, research, development, design, administration and services, in job organization, in the training and continuing education profiles and so forth.

An especially strong effect here comes from data processing and information technology. Information processes, along with material and energy processes, are gaining increasing importance. The results of data processing and information technology more and more determine the efficiency improvements of economic processes, the availability of exportable goods, the securing of our defense capacity and the performance reserves in all sectors of public life. International experiences permit the conclusion that in circa 10 years almost half of all jobs will be affected by data processing and essential domains of life will be marked by it. These changes confront research and production as well as the educational system, the mass media and other public sectors with new tasks.

Or take biotechnology. Since the 1970's new developmental trends have enormously been broadened here in gene technology, enzyme techniques, bioreactors and the like. As was recently observed at the chemical apparatus exhibition (Achema) in Frankfurt/Main, biotechnology has become a fully integrated component of conversion technologies. Already the proportion of biotechnically produced

commodities is estimated at 6 to 7 percent of chemical production worldwide.

Broad opportunities for application arise in the chemical industry, in agriculture, medicine, health protection and solving environmental problems.

By stressing the importance of the key technologies and focusing on their application, the 10th Central Committee session has opened the view to the future. It has shown what the GDR shall and will look like in 1990 and around the turn of the century. On behalf of further strengthening socialism and peace and in conformity with the international development of science and technology, the current state of development absolutely must be surpassed in its breadth and speed at the range of the entire economy, in the educational system and in other public sectors.

This makes high demands on science, which was dealt with in Comrade Honecker's speech in detail and in principle. Decisive for it is the organic linkage between science and production. Research cooperation among the combines, the institutions of the Academy of Sciences, and the universities and colleges is the fulcrum for further development. It must lead to reciprocal penetration and take its clues from economic yardsticks.

Basic research at the Academy of Sciences, the universities and colleges and the combines gains particular importance in this process. An increasing portion of means and capacities and personnel has to be invested in long-term and application-oriented basic research.

The speech in preparation for the 11th party congress recommends the following:

(a) Constantly adjusting to most up-to-date standards the conception for the long-term development of basic research in mathematics and the natural sciences for selected technological fields. Attention also has to be given to the requisite material-technological prerequisites (like equipment construction, technical conferences, and exchange of personnel between the industries and the Academy and so forth), and

(b) elaborating, on the basis of that conception, an accountable basic research five-year plan, subdivided into annual plans and to some degree a component of the state science and technology plan.

Efficient long-term basic research is the basis for all further R&D projects and closely linked with them. Revolutionary breakthroughs in techniques and technology depend today especially on using basic research data, turning them thereby into an indispensable efficiency and stability condition for scientific-technological progress and, at once, into a categorical premise for achieving international top standards.

Focusing on key technologies means of course that it is necessary to seek top achievements and to control international standards, be it in microelectronics, information technology, biotechnology or any other special field: Basic research must invariably seek novel insights, novel properties, different solutions and working principles; it must never be satisfied with what has already been achieved.

That requires a sense for innovation, a knowledge of the trend in science development and an understanding of the concrete material-technical, economic and social conditions for the feasibility of new data application.

What mainly matters is to concentrate basic research on the elaboration and mastery of original solutions for the further development and broad application of such key technologies

--which, like microelectronics, information technology and biotechnology, all high tech, provide the strongest impulses for boosting labor productivity, --by which we must succeed in securing and making economically more efficient our energy, raw materials and working materials base, --on the application and broad use of which crucially depends the rate of further social progress and of the continued implementation of the party's sociopolitical program in all sectors of public life, and --which within the scope of the socialist community of states effectively help preserve the military-strategic equilibrium in the confrontation with imperialism.

"We need a basic research that leads to scientific and technological top achievements which can be utilized with much greater economic benefit," as Erich Honecker put it at the 10th Central Committee session.

Let us again take as an example data processing and information technology. Decisions were made in recent years on the development of microelectronics, computer and communication techniques, the setting up of a data and teletype network and on other sectors. The collaboration with the other socialist countries was broadened.

Yet it is only realistic to say that the GDR's data processing and information technology research status, despite outstanding individual performances, by and large lags behind the most advanced international standards. There is a relatively heavy fragmentation of research potentials in university affairs, there is a shortage of efficient components and devices and other things like that.

Economic requirements demand, through the closest interrelations with the scientific-technological development, the design of our own solutions for the system architecture and software and utilization concepts for the 1990's. That calls for long-term basic research, coordinated with industry, a conception which in essential parts is a component of the joint research with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Now we must concretely set down the research priorities for the 1986-1990 five-year plan, including those of deeper research cooperation in terms of a division of labor with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The point was made at the 10th session that what mattered now was absolutely to concentrate natural science and technical-technological basic research on the priorities and main trends of the currently apparent most important science areas and key technologies.

You as the responsible rectors of universities and colleges, it seems to me, --must, first, see to it that a considerable portion of the potential and funds is allocated for basic research; --second, that research conceptions and topics conform to the 10th Central Committee session demands and to the resolutions taken on the development of various key technologies;

--third, that the cooperation with the combines for solving basic problems is further expanded (which involves both application-oriented and long-term basic research);

--fourth, that the obligations resulting from the division of labor cooperation with other socialist countries are strictly observed; and

--fifth, that the international science and technology development is analyzed accurately and inferences are drawn for your own research work.

The basic condition for a social efficacy of academy and university research is a close linkage between research and production, for which a qualitatively new level has to be attained. Here one has to ensure the continuity of the research process from basic research via applied research, technology and methods development all the way up to putting the results into production.

The 10th Central Committee session calls for broadly expanding the relations between the combines, the Academy of Sciences and the universities and, largely, coordinating research with the combines' requirements for their economic and technical-technological development.

The combines, as one knows, organically combine R&D, production, quality-controlling ancillary supplies, their own means of rationalization construction and sales, including the foreign markets. So they are in the position to take care of all decisive factors of intensive expanded reproduction under their own responsibility. That is a basic condition for implementing with high results the objectively necessary process of intensification.

None but the combines thus have all the prerequisites for ensuring the economic utilization of the research results all the way to the market.

The close ties between the universities and the combines, enterprises and economic facilities are of strategic importance. Their purpose is to speed up scientific-technological progress and enhance the social efficacy of research. For all that, neither the tasks nor the rate for taking care of them is arbitrary. They are determined by

--the requirements of comprehensive economic intensification;

--the enormously fast advancing development of science and technology; and

--the conditions of the worldwide class conflict.

The basic research done in the universities and colleges in mathematics, the natural sciences and the technical-technological field--say by way of highly integrated circuits or new semifabricates and such--must conform with the combines' strategic requirements for the development of new products and methods. Which means that

1. combines place more orders for basic research with universities and colleges,
2. universities and colleges offer the combines basic research data, and
3. combine R&D will collaborate with the universities and colleges and the institutions of the Academy of Sciences in solving basic research problems.

This does not mean to turn universities and colleges into attachments of the combines, as it were. The spectrum of specialized fields and the tasks in research, teaching and training are by no means suited for that. Each partner retains his self-reliance.

As ultimately, however, decisions on social progress are made in production and the combines constitute the economic units that have proven themselves in the struggle for high labor productivity, it is necessary further to expand the collaboration between universities and combines.

This does of course not spare the combines their own combine-specific or industrial branch-specific R&D responsibility. Nor does it mean assigning all the technical problems of the universities and colleges to the combines. The 10th session specifically made us look at the key technologies. They are the object of the cooperation and must constitute the substance of the relevant contracts.

To avoid all misconceptions: The qualitative and quantitative development of the relations between science and production continues to be the key problem while getting set for the 11th party congress. Sectors producing no immediate economic benefits--like theoretical physics or linguistics--are not derogated thereby, of course. They are all included in the ensemble of the sciences and likewise must aim at peak achievements.

Orienting research to key technologies calls for interdisciplinary work, the setting up of research collectives made up of representatives of the various specialized areas and their being allocated the requisite modern equipment and other research needs.

Disciplinary development is not, as some seem to think, curtailed thereby. Prerequisite to fine achievements in interdisciplinary work simply is a high scientific level in the various specialties.

An effective combination of the science potentials in university facilities and Academy institutes with the combines and enterprises and organizing, at a new quality, the socialist cooperative efforts of science and production has become a basic prerequisite for the comprehensive intensification of production. It is an essential element of all tasks in implementing our party's economic strategy.

For the universities, their close ties with the combines, enterprises and other practical partners amount to an importance of principle as this, after all, touches on all the sides of scientific work and the social utilization of its results. That includes the education and training of the students as much as the advanced training of labor and research and the advance of knowledge tested out in practice.

We can report that the cooperation between universities and combines, especially since the 10th party congress, has become a key question of university research.

Combining science with production gained much variety, breadth and efficacy in recent years. With the consolidation of the combines it became increasingly more stable, systematic and long-range. Concrete accords were concluded between universities and the economic ministries to resolve basic questions in scientific-technological progress, buttressed by nearly 200 complex contracts between universities and combines.



Good results have already been achieved by the politburo orientation to the effect that the combines must have an active role to play at the universities as the public mandatories for research in the natural sciences and in the technical field. For 43 percent of research topics such mandatory authority is in effect right now. Some 22 percent of the natural science and technical research potential goes to state commissions and other tasks in the science and technology state plan. In the course of the five-year plan about to end the number of tasks vested in it went from 101 to 200 topics, 35 state commissions among them. That includes--through close cooperation with the combines--the handling of such basic problems as the development of new ceramics working materials, the condenser relay communications techniques, gene technology, automated production or the development and use of CAD/CAM systems.

As pointed out at the 10th Central Committee session, a higher level of this cooperation must now be attained by having the combines set aside special funds to promote Academy and university research and through economic contracts for the financing and material inducement of research, but mainly through making modern equipment available and through cadre exchange. Only those universities or departments of course will profit from it that have something to offer to the economy.

The Academy and the universities are honor bound to "make available to the combines the research results proper as to qualities and schedules and in an applicable mode." Comrade Honecker emphasized: "Such cooperation on a contractual and economic basis also will open many new opportunities to develop jointly, construct and use equipment and material for research tasks. Available capacities can be used more advantageously when used jointly, and investments that are making the scientific-technological optimum standards of the future technologically feasible can to an increasing extent be prepared in common."

We have already fine experiences in this regard. Remarkable advances in the cooperation between universities and combines are reflected in the formation of joint research and application groups, of conversion collectives, and in the setting up and use of technical seminars. This way life is pumped into the accords concluded which, in conformity with their complex character, are used more and more effectively for organizing scientific life at the university at large. What is possible on the basis of ambitious goals and high achievements by both partners is shown, e.g., by the results of the chief department, "interdisciplinary semiconductor and functional prototype development," a joint facility between the TV electronics plant in Berlin and Humboldt University. Here, through an effective use of the personnel and material-technological potentials of both partners, basic research gets closely tied up with development efforts, the unity of teaching and research is to a high extent ascertained, and contributions are made to conceptualizing new and far-reaching questions with which to confront the science.

The Dresden Technical University developed intensive cooperation with the NAGEMA Combine. That includes mutual consultation and support for the long-term production profiling in the combine and for lead research, a liability in using the results, cadre exchange, activities in the training and advanced training of the cadre, and joint efforts in securing the material-technical base for the scientific work.



Technical seminars at universities, through the close collaboration between industrial and university facilities, greatly help in speeding up the ripening of technological research data in natural science and technical basic research as well as the rate of application of these data and in raising the level and practical effectiveness of training and advanced training.

For instance, the technical seminar on high-speed rolls at the Freiberg Mining Academy is used jointly by universities, the Ernst Thaelmann heavy machine building combine in Magdeburg, and the Brandenburg high-grade and refined steel combine.

In the microelectronics technical seminar at the Technical College of Karl-Marx-Stadt, 34 slots go to college associates and 45 slots to members of the microelectronics combine, who are working together on the latest technological solutions for microelectronics components.

At the prefab technical seminar for the building industry at the Cottbus engineering college a new wall/scaffold construction method was developed and tested at a fast clip, and it is already being used downtown in Leipzig.

Also in getting set for further technical seminars, such as Technikum Analytikum at Karl-Marx University in Leipzig and the Biotechnikum at Martin-Luther University in Halle, the future users from science and production facilities and agriculture, in line with their responsibilities, have already initiated a joint approach to drawing up the requirements and to shoring them up in terms of personnel, materially-technically, and financially.

One expression of increased university research concern for solving crucial economic strategy problems and of the higher level of research results is the growing lot of inventor activities and the patenting and licensing work, even if we cannot rest content by a long shot with what we have so far accomplished. The number of patents, at an average of 16.6 patents per 100 full employment units for college and technical school graduates, did to be sure reach a remarkable level, yet we still have to eye askance, utterly so, the patents' utilization rate at circa 25 percent and the extraordinary diversity in which various colleges resort to these parameters.

The radiation and effectiveness of the consulting and advisory centers set up in the universities and colleges have developed positively. As mediators between university institutions and the practical field they are meant to assist in the rapid application of research data, in target-directed consulting and the experience exchange in scientific-technological problems and in the advanced education of the partners in the field of practice. These centers, of which there are already more than 200 in the universities, turn out to be an element of mutual aid and stimulation in science-practical field relations that already can no longer be imaged as nonexistent.

For the further development of the cooperation between academic institutions and the economy in practice we must exploit all reserves in order to focus the scientific activity still more purposively and effectively on ensuring the lead for economic and scientific priorities and make its results economically usable still faster and more comprehensively. In this, in conformity with the

demand from the 10th Central Committee session, the complex fashioning of relations between combines and universities has to be guaranteed on the basis of long-term, stable and compulsory economic contracts.

Economically founded research contracts for the combines and on the topics of the science and technology state plane will significantly affect the research quality, the cooperation of the capacities and a rapid utilization of the results.

Relying on the basic research data accomplishments are achieved this way that conform to the new stage of the economic strategy and rapidly advance the comprehensive intensification of production.

This will only be so, however, if the economic effect of the science-production collaboration is further enhanced significantly. Research data often are kept from going into production because

- research data do not conform with latest international developments or show too little originality,
- the extant technical and/or economic level is not clearly enough surpassed thereby,
- research data do not yet have the necessary technological maturity or conform too little to the special potentials in the GDR, or
- industrial R&D potentials do not always command the scientific prerequisites for a successful partnership, or for other reasons.

The demand from the 10th Central Committee session, to combine science and production in a qualitatively new fashion with each other, implies that all previous experiences are thoroughly analyzed and solutions are found--such as setting up and expanding technical seminars, pilot and testing plants, cadre training and exchange and so forth--to make a rapid application of research results possible. This also calls for creating effective economic incentives and for a high political-moral motivation on the part of the research scientists and the production engineers.

Appropriate propositions have to be proposed on this soon and regulations have to be elaborated.

We have been increasingly successful in recent years in expanding our research potential by drawing students into our research.

A basic concern of socialist university policy is to draw students into the various forms of research right from their first year of studies, regardless of how much they know and can do, to enable them early to apply knowledge acquired on their own creatively and to gather experience by exploring the unknown and in the transfer of insights gained into practice.

Today, 26 percent of the research capacity in mathematics, the natural sciences, the technical fields, agrarian science and medicine comes from students. In social science research students even make up more than 40 percent of the entire research potential.

Those possibilities must in the future be invested responsibly and while oriented to priorities on behalf of a high educational effect and performance growth in enforcing the scientific-technological progress.

Despite all the advances we have made in involving the students in research, there still exist considerable reserves, as examples of many universities and colleges demonstrate. They are not just due, as it may first appear, to our having to involve still more students in research, even if, quite correctly, more efforts in this field are called for. Mainly it is due to that studies themselves have to be made more efficacious still.

It is especially important further to enhance the share of creativity in studies. If students mainly get drawn into activities low in creativeness, neither a research interest nor the students' initiative for scientific work is aroused.

The students' independent scientific work must more and more become the crucial principle of socialist university policy through more of a target-directed organization of the unity of teaching, studying and research at our universities and colleges.

Today, students are integrated in processing many important basic research projects and in the science and technology state plan, they are engaged in significant social science research projects and are showing their mettle in manufacturing scientific appliances within the scope of the FDJ initiative, Scientific Appliance Construction.

In various forms they are making effective contributions to the fulfilment of the research plans in university affairs and to enhancing economic efficiency while they are still studying, for instance in the more than 2,300 youth projects, the students' rationalization and design bureaus, and the scientific students' circles.

Involving the students in research, along with its scientific and economic effect, mainly is of a high cultural and educational value.

In research a student finds out what has proven itself, pushes himself into scientific virgin territory, learns to handle science instruments and, increasingly, to master more securely the methods of gaining knowledge and applying it.

Then there also are forming such traits as persistence, tenacity and discipline, scientific accuracy together with creativeness, the will to perform and to achieve, and also a goodly portion of imagination while exploring new questions and problems.

Research is the field in which the cooperation between the college instructor and the students becomes particularly fruitful. Here the teacher, through a creative process, conveys the juxtaposition of his rich experiences and knowledge, brings a direct influence to bear on the shaping of socialist personality traits, and presents the demands and criteria for working scientifically. That simply is what the great responsibility of the college teacher amounts to.

His personality as a teacher, researcher and educator is the decisive link in our rearing a young generation of intellectuals.

Through training engineers and economists, our universities and colleges are making an important contribution to implementing the tasks of comprehensive intensification, of enhancing the technical and technological level of production, and to our management, planning and economic cost accounting.

Two years have passed since the SED Central Committee politburo came out with the conception for reorganizing the training and advanced training of engineers and economists. We can assert that at this time a broad and extensive debate has been going on in all universities and colleges.

That conception is of strategic importance. Through the substantive changes intended for the training and advanced training of engineers and economists, crucial prerequisites are laid by our educational system for implementing our socioeconomic strategy. With this conception and its gradually being turned into reality, proceeding from the objectively growing public demands, the needed educational lead is sought for technical and economic specialists, who are in a special way responsible, as one knows, for the acceleration of the scientific-technological progress, the control of economic processes, and thus for our advancing our capacities and the protection of our socialist fatherland. The training and advanced training for engineers and economists revamped like this also reflects our party's far-sighted economic and educational policy.

An initial trial balance-sheet about the debate was drawn up and priorities for the implementation of the conception were set at a working conference sponsored by the Ministry for University & Technical School Affairs on the training and advanced training for engineers and economists, held in December 1984 in Karl-Marx-Stadt. Thereby further decisive prerequisites were created for a high-level conversion of substantive demands made on the training and advanced training of the engineers and economists in line with public requirements and objectives.

The debate and the beginning implementation of the substantive objectives of the conception have shown that it is necessary to pay attention to the following problems:

1. An understanding for the concern, nature and demands of the conception must continue to be strengthened among all college personnel, economic functionaries and students. Consultations are to be held with all teaching staffs on what should be taught in the future and on the methods and forms of organization by which the new content is to be coped with. It is imperative to penetrate all that is new thoroughly and to look at future requirements while deriving relevant conclusions from them. For all engineers and economists, e.g., consistent training must be sought in information technology.
2. It is necessary to base all steps on fundamental social developments, mainly on the social reproduction process and the likely developmental trends in science, technology and economics and the requirements resulting therefrom for the qualification structure. As precise a definition of the qualification requirements as possible is a decisive basis for a high-level implementation of the conception.

3. Special weight attaches to conceiving and realizing basic study trends that conform to modern streamlined basic study training. It is necessary for engineers and economists to acquire the knowledge about what will be coming tomorrow through their training, which will then also be applicable in the decade ahead and is to be used in combination with novel specialized knowledge. That calls for new considerations and for entering virgin territory, and old traditions have to be broken, too. That makes a creative debate necessary among all scientists and their competent partners in the practical fields.

4. Our engineers and economists occupy a key position for further economic performance improvements. Our educational system must make sure that they are able, in terms of our economic structural development, to solve complex tasks. In close cooperation with our partners in the fields of practice, we must fashion the needed vision, flexibility and stability for it through training and education. That also applies to such questions as the structure of admissions, the degree of instruction in specialties and the fashioning of a higher degree of technical versatility, the integration of continuing education and the sponsoring of attractive continuing education opportunities. Generally speaking, it will be necessary for training and advanced training to become more closely integrated in the future. This need is highlighted by the ongoing efforts of making more rapidly personnel available for introducing the CAD/CAM method in important combines in our economy.

5. Through implementing the training and advanced training conception for engineers and economists there also is being introduced generally a new phase in the intensification of science education. It is not a matter of getting more trained college and technical school graduates, but of raising their educational level. That requires close cooperation between university affairs and all other public sectors. That also is the precondition for that training and education can still better respond to the increasing public requirements of the future.

The level and acceleration of the training of a new generation of scientists is of fundamental importance. Bringing them sooner to highest skills and significantly expanding the productive phase in the life of scientific personnel is of great importance for enhancing the effectiveness through the use of education and science in practice and in public life. We cannot yet settle for the rate achieved in shaping a new generation of scientists. Despite all efforts the interval between the A and B promotions in university affairs still takes an average of 11 years. The average age of the B graduates of the social scientists and in medicine is far beyond 40 years of age.

How can that situation be changed?

1. Developing the new generation of scientists according to plan must be given a higher priority. Objectives and strict supervision over them must play a larger role in state management activity and in the efforts of public organizations.

2. The objective must be as early as possible a graduation and cuts in the graduating procedures. That would require of the college teachers to improve their manner of taking care of their assistants and science candidates, briefer time frames for submitting expert opinions, and surmounting bureaucratic impediments.

3. Considerable reserves can be found in fully exploiting the universities' legal provisions on graduations and the recognition of other public achievements such as patents, publications and so forth as qualifying substitutions.

4. Finally, what matters too is the correct ideological position in the new generation, in the young personnel as well as in the college teachers in charge.

The young scientists' attitude toward their scientific training is an important matter. Diligence and tenacity, discipline and accuracy, the readiness to exploit the time available maximally for the process of scientific work and to forgo something sometimes are indispensable prerequisites for creative work and high scientific achievements. Such traits must be turned into working maxims for every member of the new science generation.

Much as the main responsibility for his development lies in the young scientist, the college teacher exercises a decisive effect. His role model, his scientific, political and character quality, the demands a chief of a collective, the guardian, places on himself and on the young scientists under his care are of decisive importance. While the young scientist must be able to derive his clues from his teacher's achievements, he must also be challenged by him. A challenge carries the proper meaning of any promotion as young science cadres are growing through their tasks. The individual responsibility of college teachers implies the collective responsibility of departments and of the college as such.

In properly qualifying the new generation academically it then becomes a matter of doing away with liabilities first and foremost. That applies in particular to the appointment of college teachers. Considering the relatively advanced age of the average appointment, at 42.6 years for lecturers and at 46 years for professors, it becomes more obvious than ever how important it is to bring up the new generation of scientists fast and according to plan.

It is necessary fundamentally to improve the planning and management in the work that develops the new generation of scientists so that highly skilled young scientists are rapidly readied for their appointments, and in proper proportions. The development of a new generation of scientists must consistently be derived from the lines of science development, and special conditions must deliberately be set down for the most creative personnel. To that also will contribute, as we hope, the formation of the interdisciplinary seminar for a new generation of scientists at Karl-Marx-University, which ought to be supported also, and energetically, by all other universities and colleges.

Now some questions of the students' personality development.

We mainly gauge the efficacy of the students' education and training against their practical-moral attitudes and concrete modes of behavior in their studies and their social activities in daily life.

A special yardstick, however, is their readiness and willingness to perform, their activity induced by their political understanding in acquiring knowledge, in coping with science and in applying its results.

Achievement is chiefly based on deliberate activity, is an active effort stemming from the realization that it benefits society and hence is also of advantage to the individual. Achievement thus is based on diligence, order and discipline and presupposes a thirst for knowledge, strength of will, courage and reliability.

Other criteria in performance-orientated action during studies and the appropriation of science are creativeness, risk readiness and the ability to cooperate with others. It also includes one's love for one's profession and the pride in working as an engineer, physician or psychologist as a graduate in a given section of socialist society.

This is what we have to tell our students: As graduates from our top educational institutions you will in the future share the responsibility for coping with the scientific-technological revolution and its connection with the advantages of socialism, and therein precisely lies your revolutionary function today and in the future.

Such elements of socialist labor ethics are found principally in a high level of demands made on fulfilling one's study requirements, in the full exploitation of an individual performance capacity, in a creative attitude toward science, in the performance comparison with others and in the responsible attitude toward one's profession. Ultimately it is a matter that college teachers, party organizations and the FDJ jointly see to it that each student penetrates his science with great diligence and enthusiasm and deliberately uses his studies in taking account of the high requirements our socialist universities place on each graduate.

The speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the 12th FDJ Parliament offers an outstanding orientation for the education and training of students. Of a programmatic importance in it is the task formulated there to the effect that nothing better could there be for youth than "carrying the banner of the revolutionary accomplishments of our century across the threshold of the year 2000" and feeling called on "to combine the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25/26 May 1985, p 3).

This presupposes a politically motivated mode of life, a lifestyle by the students that affirms socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

A decisive task lies in providing the students with Marxism-Leninism as a theoretical-methodological instrument for acquiring their own position and action orientation. They must not see in it a structure made up of complicated theories, concepts and definitions, with practice serving merely as a corroboration for the correctness of theory. Rather, Marxist-Leninist theory must be developed and taught from practical experience and immediate intuition.



The teaching of Marxism-Leninism, for all that, also ought to include more polemics against the pertinent basic trends in bourgeois ideology and politics, especially in anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

Teachers in basic Marxist-Leninist studies bear a special responsibility. They are called upon to reflect, together with the youth association, on how the works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and the party resolutions, particularly our party program, could have more of an emotional impact still by being made the focal point of teaching activities. Further thought must be given to how basic studies can help more persuasively settle newly ripened ideological-political issues in the various technical disciplines, posed above all by the forward march of science and technology. Each student himself, of course, bears a high degree of responsibility for acquiring the scientific world-outlook. His assuming this responsibility depends on his rapport with Marxism-Leninism, with his self-study and his willingness to come to grips, combatively, with obsolete, one-sided and unscientific notions and modes of conduct.

The socialist historical consciousness must be regarded as an essential component of culture and education. The fact is that more and more students want to study history to discover how things have gone, specifically, in German and world history and in our republic's process of history. The curiosity about the past is especially vivid, of course, at times when we get ready for and conduct important commemorations and anniversaries. That was demonstrated again at the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the liberation of the German people.

Knowing about where we are coming from is an indispensable source of strength for carrying on the shaping of the developed socialist society and for the peace struggle. It is an important element of ideological culture and education. In deepening the socialist consciousness of history we are always concerned with history in its complex interconnections, not only with political history, that is, but just as much with intellectual and cultural history, with military history and the history of the development of the productive forces.

Another comment I should like to make, specifically on the function of culture and art in the process of developing and shaping all-round educated personalities who think and act socialistically.

Our universities and colleges have more and more turned in recent years into centers of the intellectual-cultural life in a territory. The heightened efficacy of science itself has importantly contributed to that. More efforts and advances have been made at the academic institutions in the students' cultural-aesthetic education and training, throughout the teaching process itself as well as in the various forms of cultural mass activity and independent artistic activity going on primarily within the scope of the work of the youth association, in art contests and in FDJ student clubs at the colleges and dormitories.



That process is being aided, not insignificantly, by there being ample and efficacious electives that, instead of being tailor-made to instructing in specialized technical matters, serve the broadening of the intellectual-cultural horizon by arousing new demands and needs through cultural and artistic topics touching on the intellectual issues of our time. Relying on this positive balance-sheet, we must give further thought to exploiting much more deeply still the efficacy of art and literature for the cultural and educational process.

Convictions in world-outlook and ideology greatly depend on the conformity between what is personally and socially significant. This conformity is intimately tied up with emotional factors. As hardly by any other form of the intellectual appropriation of reality, intellectual and emotional rapport with the various spheres of life is established through literature and art. That is true of many aspects in the community of man, within the family, the marital partnership, the collective and the society. It is this element of aesthetic experience that in its entirety is of extraordinary importance to men's relating to their environment. The capacity for experience, significantly molded in part by the absorption of literature and art, forms a crucial subjective foundation for all-round personality development. More than we have been making use of it in education, literature and art help orient and shape human sensitivity, thoughts and actions in that, through the aesthetic experience, they convey values that affect and help shape the students' attitudes toward their environment, society, people and phenomena.

Since literature and art, by making rational and emotional sides act in unison, possess the specific feature of making an impact on the whole man, they greatly affect man's image of the world and his determining his place in socialist society. They affect the formation of values and value orientations, patterns of behavior, ideals and the ideas of life. They influence the ideological, intellectual and psychological relations to other people, collectives, society, work, nature and oneself.

Aesthetic education still has another aspect we ought to pay more attention to. It is a matter, after all, of motivating our students to deal carefully with all material values society makes available, to handle socialist property cautiously and keep classrooms and dormitories clean. This involves altogether interhuman relations, courtesy and mutual respect, the alpha and omega of getting along with one another. And it also pertains to the liaison between the male and female students. Finally the point should be made that studying at our top educational institutions should also help teach the beauty of our language, the clarity of oral and written expression and master it better and better.

For coping with these manifold demands the social scientists in toto bear a special responsibility. We must therefore expect from them still more interesting and intellectually and emotionally stimulating statements and compositions.

The universities and colleges are in good shape for coming up with fine achievements in research and instruction and for developing the students' socialist consciousness. They are found above all in

--an experienced teaching staff, formed under socialism and addressing the task, through a great sense of responsibility, to lead the students into high achievements and a clear allegiance to socialism,  
--an active socialist youth organization which, under party leadership, does successful work with all students so as to develop in every way their commitment, sense of responsibility and conscious readiness for social and scientific work, and  
--the solid education and greater practical experience by most of the students who start their studies at the colleges.

Not last, however, there are strong party organizations at work at all universities and colleges.

We should use the time during which we are preparing for the 11th party congress for debating the basic issues of our time and our party and government policy on strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace with all members of the universities and colleges. We ought to carry on experience exchange by way of top achievements in all departments without being afraid of an uncompromising performance comparison with international standards, other colleges and departments.

We should still more strongly push in all research collectives and seminar groups the desire for high achievements, the initiatives for coping with the new tasks, and the contest for meeting the aims assigned according to plan.

We ought to familiarize the members of universities and colleges thoroughly with the resolutions passed by the 10th SED Central Committee session and inform everyone not only about the magnitude and beauty of what was already accomplished, but also of the idea of the GDR's future, the only feasible alternative to capitalism, tried and tested by history already.

Our world is the world of peace. Our desire is to serve the people's well-being. Our ideology is that of socialist patriotism and internationalism, humanism and optimism.

So we are getting ready for the 11th party congress.

5885

CSO: 2300/14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF YOUTH VIEWED AS INADEQUATE, INFLEXIBLE

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 40 No 5, 1985 pp 394-396, 399-401

[Article by Dieter Hoffmann: "Information and Experience in Problematic Design of Instruction"]

[Excerpts] Ever since the 1960's, the problematic design of instruction has been a topic often dealt with in specialized pedagogical publications and long tested in practice. And yet, lately publications are again pointing out the necessity of obtaining a better quality of problematic design and ensure greater efficiency.(1) Where do the weaknesses lie? Asked this question, teachers of history largely agreed on the following:

-- There are not enough "genuine" problems (presented)! On the other hand, the independent search for usable problems is too costly and not productive enough!

-- The painstakingly constructed problem does not always arouse interest, fails to motivate the students! The cost is often unwarrantable in relation to the result!

Of the utmost importance for the assurance of the better quality of the problematic design of instruction is the settlement of the questions "how may we get rid of these weaknesses? What are the conditions for achieving that end? What do our own experiences tell us?"

Tracking Down Problems--According to Plan and Systematically, the Key to Success

The work with problems makes complex demands on the quality of the teacher's personality. Comprehensive knowledge of the curriculum and total mastery of the subject are the crucial prerequisites for the success of the search for problems, the discovery of productive problems! He who knows nothing (of the subject) does not perceive anything (in the subject)!

We know from experience that it is not advisable to wait until the night before to tackle the conception of the problematic design of next day's lesson. All too often valuable time is lost in that case, and the hoped for inspiration fails to materialize.

A sound basis for the work on problems is ensured only by the systematic review of all available but not yet scrutinized materials with a view to their "problem potential," treating this as an inherent element of all planning. The search for problems should be handled consonant with the special requirements for the various subjects of instruction. The science teacher, for example, will make use of the opportunities arising from experiments. The "auscultation" of the structural elements of textbooks has proven to be quite productive. At the same time, attention should also be devoted to literary writings, the daily press and popular science magazines. With respect to social science subjects, the following (among others) may serve as leading questions:

-- What picture content demonstrates an obvious contradiction?

-- Which statement of a picture, a source, a map, a paragraph contradicts which earlier acquired knowledge (conviction)?

-- Upon comparing them with one another, the statements made by which of these materials (pictures, sources) contradict one another?

The following example is designed to demonstrate this approach"

Leafing through the history textbook for the 8th grade, the reader notices the color illustration on p 92. It shows the 18 January 1871 proclamation of the Prussian king as German emperor. If we wish to ascertain the "problem potential" of this picture, we need to think along the following lines:

-- With which curriculum context is this picture to be classified?  
(Material unit 4 "the struggle for the national unity of Germany and the development of the German workers' movement 1849-1871. The establishment of the German Reich.")

-- What do the students know about the topic "unity of the Reich" before beginning the study of material unit 4, in particular with regard to the Prussian kings' attitude to this issue?  
(Rejection of the emperor's crown offered by the 1849 Frankfurt National Assembly)

-- What might the students not know at the time?  
(Change in conditions after 1849: The victory of the Prussian conception of national unification by "blood and iron" as opposed to the conception offered by the democratic forces.)

The textbook illustration, therefore, has "problem potential." The statement it makes (the emperor's crown accepted in 1871) contradicts their earlier acquired knowledge about the attitude of the Prussian dynasty (1849 refusal of the emperor's crown)!

Once problems have been found, a decision needs to be made with regard to their suitability! Basically applicable is the following: The solution of

the problem--closure of the knowledge gap--must make it possible to realize fundamental curriculum objectives, in other words be oriented to essentials of the instruction.

The thorough analysis of the structure of conditions in the grade to be instructed (the actual standard) is of the utmost importance: Does the majority of the students have sound previous knowledge? Are they used to problematic instruction? How well do they respond to questions? Do they have the necessary knowledge of the procedure? Are they able to cope with the intellectual effort needed to discover the contradiction (such as analyses, comparisons, and so on)?

The age group needs to be considered! With regard to lower grades, it is recommended to design no more than brief and comprehensible stretches in a problematic manner. The time factor also needs to be taken into account. It is inappropriate to set a problem as a didactic target orientation if 15 minutes are required for exposition, leaving only 30 minutes for the solution! Sometimes it is more efficient to simply provide ready-made information, because classroom conditions at that particular time are not conducive to any work on problems calling for advanced mental efforts. However, it is not good enough constantly to complain about the impossibility of problematic instruction in this or that grade--in that case the structure of conditions needs to be transformed!

Greater Power of Persuasion in the Politico-Ideological Education of Older Students by More Problematic

Politico-ideological education is a multilayered process and requires a complex approach.

Considering the limits of a single article, I can here deal only with a few albeit essential aspects.

In view of the exacerbated ideological class conflict, it is imperative better to arm our students against the influence of ideological ideology, to better qualify them for the ideological conflict.

"Required more than ever in such conditions are a firm and unshakeable class standpoint, profound socialist conviction and profound faith in the socialist cause, clarity on basic political issues and active championship of the policy of the party of the working class, politico-ideological steadfastness and offensive argumentation."(2)

The optimum efficiency of education and training presumes observance of age specific features of development.

As students get older, their need for independent decisionmaking grows. We note an increased transition from outside control to self-control. Adolescents value their independently acquired experiences above the

instruction provided by others. They wish to advance toward knowledge by thinking for themselves, and it is harder to impress them than students in lower grades. They are more inclined but also better able to take a critical view.(3)

By designing more problematic instruction in the upper grades, we also respond to the necessity of a more development appropriate instruction.

The student deals with the material on the basis of intellectual activity. The object of the problem rather than the teacher tends to be the point of reference for his reflections. He feels that the material to be absorbed arises from the subject proper, not that it has been imposed on him from the outside.

The following example may demonstrate the indispensable potentials inherent in the problematic approach for the evolution of politico-ideological convictions and attitudes:

Grade 10, subject unit 2, lesson 2

"The Appeal by the KPD CC of 11 June 1945"

Following a brief description of the generation of this appeal, the students are provided with the following historical sources (on a loose-leaf page):

"On the agenda now as the decisive point is the abolition of capitalist exploitation and the transfer of the means of production from the hands of the major proprietors to social ownership, the management of the entire economy by the principles of nationally necessary planning instead of private profit interests. We cannot tolerate the confusion of the capitalist entrepreneurial economy whose upholders are concerned only with making even more money tomorrow. Planning and management do not yet constitute socialism, they are merely the preconditition."(4)

The second text runs as follows:

"It is our opinion that it would be wrong to force the Soviet system on Germany, because this would not be appropriate to the current developmental conditions in Germany.

We rather hold that the present vital interests of the German people prescribe another approach, that of the establishment of an antifascist and democratic regime, a parliamentary-democratic republic with all democratic rights and liberties for the people."(5)

The students are then called upon to decide which text originates with the appeal.

The ensuing evaluation always results in a completely wrong assessment. It motivates to discussion and represents an essential step in the development of the desire for party-like debate.

The analysis of the historical source in the textbook, pp 55f, provides proof that the second text is indeed part of the document. The students now justify their wrong choice. It always turns out that they missed such terms as "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "socialism." Even in 1945, SPD forces used this circumstance to reproach the communists with having abandoned their formerly proclaimed ideals (socialism not being mentioned at all)!

By answering the question posed by the problem: "Why did the KPD fail in this appeal to orient the German people to socialism?", the teacher refutes the reproach raised in the circles around Schumacher and thereby realizes the cardinal educational point of the lesson as well as the first partial preception.

The teacher channels the solution to the problem by suggesting that the students engage in some specialized reading to find out that the appeal

- Had taken account of the conditions prevailing in Germany
- Proved the application of Lenin's theory of revolution
- Signified the smoothly continuing pursuit of the policy adopted by the Seventh Comintern World Congress as well as the KPD Brussels and Berne Conferences!

Using the knowledge storage of the students, the substantial agreement between this document and its predecessors is ascertained and the continuity of party policy and its scientific nature proved.

Awareness of the continuity of scientifically based party policy leads to confidence in this policy. The lesson in question supplies an extremely valuable contribution to that effect.

The invitation by the analysis (of selected sections) of the textbook source to ascertain the road mapped out for the German people by the KPD, initiates the emergence of the second perception arising from the lesson. The generation of the antifascist-democratic bloc is realized by means of a lecture.

A review at the end of the lesson serves as a reminder of the starting situation.

The above example demonstrates that problematic instruction involves challenges to the intellectual activity of the students. Analysis and comparison, proofs and refutation, party-like assessment and conclusions in all their complexity enable them to advance toward the learning target of the lesson and to benefit from the educational potential of the material.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See U.Drews/H.Weck, "Intellectual Activity--The Point to be Concentrated on in the Further Improvement of the Quality and Efficiency of Instruction," PAEDAGOGIK, Nos 7/8 1981, p 558.



2. H.Riechert, "On the Evolution of Politico-Ideological Convictions and Attitudes of Older Students," PAEDAGOGIK, No 12/1983, p 914.
3. See J. Wagner, "Special Psychological Features of Older Students," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, M No 39/1982, consultation, pp 2ff.
4. Collective of authors, "Geschichte der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" [History of the German Workers' Movement], Vol 6, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1966, p 366.
5. Collective of authors, "Um Ein Antifaschistisch-Demokratisches Deutschland. Dokumente aus den Jahren 1945-1949" [For an Antifascist-Democratic Germany. Documents from the Years 1945-1949], Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin 1968, p 60.

11698

CSO: 2300/528

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WORKING GROUP ASSESSES TRAINING OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS, ACADEMICS

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 33 No 8, Aug 85 pp 214-216, 220

[Articles by Prof Dr Ernst Luther, Prof Dr Gerhard Engel, Prof Dr Herbert Wolf, Harry Groschupf, Proft Dr Siegfried Schwanke: "Development and Promotion of Young Scientists"]

[Excerpts] As announced in our No 5/1985, we are publishing below the plenary meeting reports to the plenary sessions of the Central Working Conference on the Training of Young Scientists, held in February last in Dresden. The reports were presented by the heads of the nine working groups which dealt with discipline related problems of the training of young scientists.

Working Group I: Prof Dr Ernst Luther, Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Council on Marxism-Leninism at the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs

Three areas of problems need to be distinguished in the discussion of working group I (basic Marxist-Leninist studies).

1. We start from the assumption that the unity of scientific and political training is a pivotal issue in the training of young scientists, so as to secure the satisfaction of the need for cadres in the coming decades and in consideration of the politico-ideological responsibility of basic Marxist-Leninist studies. Accordingly, the development of the personality as a party worker will always govern our thoughts. The discussion yielded several interesting suggestions and experiences regarding the specific responsibility of college instructors, party and FDJ collectives for the smooth flowing process of education and self-education, in particular by way of test situations in political life and propaganda work--in other words the development of the entire personality of young cadres. The responsibility of research collectives and the self-responsibility of cadres was specially accented.

2. Complete agreement was recorded about the absolute unity of instruction and research in basic Marxist-Leninist studies. Many experiences were reported with regard to the substantial orientation of research and the great

challenges confronting research efforts in basic Marxist-Leninist studies. Involvement in the working up of basic theoretical issues, the settlement of fundamental problems of party strategy and concrete benefits for daily practical work represented priority concerns. Important impulses were provided for the organization of research. At the same time we also had to keep in mind the fact that we were dealing with large facilities (more than 150 cadres) and small institutions (around 15 cadres). We therefore needed a differentiated approach.

All questions and reflections related to the organization of research and its substance ended up by turning on the topic of the interrelations between instruction and research, with the objective of achieving the best possible quality of instruction.

3. The development of scholarship in the field of scientific communism played a most significant role in our discussion. The comrade minister pointed out these problems, and it is our opinion that they need even more careful consideration by the scientific advisory council for Marxism-Leninism in cooperation with the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs, in particular with regards to two aspects:

Firstly from the aspect of the arrears in the training of young scientists for this field of scholarship and the accomplishment of this tasks in future;

Secondly also from the aspect that a large part of the entire scientific potential in the field of scientific communism is engaged in basic Marxist-Leninist studies. This presents us with a great responsibility and, of course, a great opportunity also.

The participants in the discussion agreed unanimously that we may tackle the tasks of the coming decades with realism and optimism, that we believe basic Marxist-Leninist studies to offer all conditions necessary to accomplish the new and more challenging tasks, and that we will do so with every resolution.

Working Group II: Prof Dr Gerhard Engel, Deputy to the Minister for University and Technical School Affairs

Working group II (social sciences) variously discussed the statements made by the minister in his address. Some aspects were deepened, and this made evident the ambitious challenge formulated to the training of young scientists and cadres. We came to clearly realize the dimensions of the task to educate the new generation of social scientists, a new generation which will not merely replace those at work now but able by political steadfastness and services to cope with the rising and often novel demands on Marxist-Leninist social sciences. The discussion clearly revealed that the training of young scientists first of all calls on us to question attitudes, to deepen the understanding of college instructors and young scientists about the functions of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences as an instrument of the party for the planning and management of social processes, the development of consciousness in the socialist society, the ideological struggle about the vital problems of mankind at the close of the 20th Century.

The deepening of an attitude to science and its social functions consonant with the revolutionary nature of Marxist-Leninist social sciences is primarily a political task. Young scientists in these disciplines must be required to be able to increasingly well comprehend and handle the SED Program as the program for scholarly work. In other words: The debate in the working group focused on the political and academic-political demands made in the minister's address. It was extremely valuable that the discussion was not confined to the "self-supply" of the institutions of higher education subordinated to the MHF [ministry for university and technical school affairs]. In fact we also considered our responsibility for, among others, the future sociological potential and its capacities at the colleges and academies of art. The discussion centered on the following problems:

1. The necessarily greater challenges to the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory by young scientists of all disciplines. Suggestions were submitted also with regard to the central working conference on the continuing Marxist-Leninist education of academics to be held in Mittweida in September 1985;
2. The development of the abilities to analyze the real social and ideological processes in the development of the socialist society as well as the international class conflict. This requires the orientation of young scientists to the settlement of fundamental problems, including the avoidance of unduly specialized narrowness in the scientific horizon of the rising generation;
3. The opening up of the education and training of young scientists to new dimensions of the capacity to investigate general problems in an interdisciplinary manner and explain them in teaching and propaganda work;
4. Passing on experiences and many satisfactory methods for the training of young scientists, which require detailed analysis.

Much attention was devoted to the relation between generally obligatory basic standards in the training of young social scientists and the necessary differentiation in the education and training of individual cadres.

It was evident that efforts for the individualization of the training of young scientists must not be allowed to edge out basic norms. Instead it is imperative to work on instilling these basic norms in each subject, each personality, for each task, and to do so in differentiated form, unconventionally, without formalism and in orientation to the objective. Constantly reiterated was the concern with the difficult problems of preparing people for scientific and political tasks.

Administrative management is needed, but it does not replace the accomplishment of the task by ideological means to create everyday scholarly work normally featuring the growth of young scientists.

Detailed experiences and proposals on very varied questions were presented: On enabling young scientists to carry on interdisciplinary community work, on the definition of the general scientific education of young scientists, the prudent guidance of young people with proper attention to psychological

elements, the encouragement of young scientists to publish, the relation between stringent demands and understanding in the conduct of training for young scientists, improving the atmosphere at work so that honesty in the collective (including the FDJ collectives) may prevail, the promotion of the training of young women scientists--particularly important in the social sciences--for top jobs in many disciplines and the education of sociological cadres who work at colleges of art--being the sole representatives of their specialty--, the part-time employment of post-graduates, the combination of employment abroad and training in research, the differentiated consideration of the many demands on young scientists including emphasis on the fact that the focus must be not on everybody's working on similar tasks but on the accomplishment of the development tasks appropriate to the individual concerned, on the quality of the promotion procedure, differentiated encouragement of gifted individuals, and so on.

It will be necessary to carefully analyzed the concepts presented at the conference and getting them utilized in the management operations of the MHF, faculty directors and deputy directors for social sciences, section directors and college instructors.

I propose the continued pursuit of exchanges of experience among the universities and colleges with regard to selected topics and so to review the theses of this working group that they may turn into an orientation document for the training of young scientists in social science disciplines.

Working Group III: Prof Dr Herbert Wolf, Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Council on Economics at the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs

The discussion in our working group centered on the following topic: How can we guarantee the training of young economists in the next 8-10 years, at higher politico-educational and academic quality as well as at higher speed and to a greater extent? We were particularly concerned with cadres suitable for an academic career. We need people who are able to recognize and tackle genuine problems and new issues, and who develop the ability as well as the desire for creativity of the highest standard.

The discussion was conducted in particular from the aspect, in view of the new and more challenging demands to train cadres who effectively contribute to the efficient implementation of the party's economic policy, whether in the day-to-day operation of the economy, in research or instruction, and are capable of appropriately handling the qualitatively and quantitatively rising demands on the application of the conception for the training of engineers and managers. Another important consideration is the necessity to satisfy the extremely great need for replacements and expansion.

We had constructive and lively discussions, many proposals and an instructive exchange of opinions. An important factor was the perception that the accomplishment of the tasks confronting us may not proceed in a rigid manner,

that it is imperative to utilize the many suggestions and possibilities by various methods. The necessity and usefulness of our conference, specially the orientations provided by the minister's address, were repeatedly emphasized.

The first important problem discussed was the combination of the training of young scientists with research work at the departments. This has been shown to be crucial for the stable processing of topics and close cooperation with business. Several commendable experiences were cited and an exchange of experiences conducted. In general, attention was drawn to the necessity for the early selection and promotion of gifted and talented students. To some extent this should be combined with the early direction of all students to a specific topical objective in conjunction with largely individual guidance and supervision. If, at the same time, care were taken to see that this does not serve to narrow the scope of training, such a procedure would represent an important part solution toward the objective of guaranteeing the smooth and rapid transition from training to the promotion of young scientists. The proposal for accepting very talented and hardworking students for research from the third year of studies obtained a good deal of support. Of course this means that research studies would need to acquire a somewhat changed substance. Its special feature consists in the fact that the advanced quality and, possibly, early graduation on the one hand and the purposeful transition to work on the dissertation on the other need to represent an organic and planned whole.

In general terms, the reserves suitable for speeding up the training of young scientists are represented mainly by the two periods addressed by the minister, too: The time between certification and the actual assignment of the A topic as well as the time between the graduation and the actual transition to work on the B topic. Admittedly, in this context we must also consider the often inadequate exploitation of resources as a matter of the system of work in the department, not only as a matter of inadequate research quality.

A large reserve for the qualitative improvement and speed-up in the training of young scientists is represented by the early completion (and ongoing further improvement) of foreign language studies, the use of computers and adequate mastery of information technology. The planned incorporation of the acquisition of sound practical knowledge also has an important role in the training of young scientists at the requisite quality of knowledge and skills. Indeed, this is an indispensable requirement especially for our future managers.

At present this aspect has not yet been regulated compellingly and systematically enough as an indispensable element in the training of young scientists. Various proposals were submitted. Though I cannot describe them here in detail, they will have to be further studied and elaborated after the conference. Involved are such questions, for example, how to use the stable relations (whether in place or needing to be set up) between business and the departments and colleges to ensure--based on contracts with business--a kind of rotation of young scientists to be temporarily delegated to practical tasks (for 3 years, say). The certainty that the respective business will always

have available new and highly talented young scientists, also guarantees that all of them will be able at the end of their work in business to promptly return to further academic studies. Various solutions of this type may also be combined with part-time employment, sometimes with the planned arrangement of a subsequent transition to post-graduate work.

The crucial role of the ideological factor was emphasized in all discussions, whether with regard to the attitude of the young scientific cadre himself, in particular to science and continuing education, as well from the aspect of the political, scientific and personality shaping responsibility of the college instructor. It was emphasized that this does not apply only to candidates for an A doctorate but also to the working relations with young candidates for a B doctorate. The same is relevant for the atmosphere at work and the method of working of the collective generally.

It is important to let the young scientific cadre experience for himself that social requirements result in advances in perception and the practical application of science. At the same time it would be advisable to incorporate more test situations in the training of young scientists. This should be accomplished preferably by the social activities of the young cadres as well as by the defense of interim results, appearances at scientific events, publications, and so on. Very important in this context is the prudent employment of the young scientific cadres for teaching and supervising undergraduates, and so on. They will thus learn to more profoundly and systematically master their science and act as educators. This aspect of the training of young scientists still tends to be underdeveloped with regard to student and post-graduate researchers. On the other hand teaching assistants (b) are frequently hampered in their own research by excessive teaching burdens. However, candidates for B doctorates should be early entrusted with suitable lecturing jobs.

It is particularly important to raise the place value of the academic teacher's work with regard to the education and training of young scientists within the entire range of his assignments.

Many problems arise from the fact that departments do not consider this assignment as being of the first order. Some satisfactory examples were cited, especially here at Dresden Technical University, showing how the inclusion of these assignments in the competition, performance comparison and performance appraisal actually allowed less time to elapse for the preparation of the A dissertation, in particular. These examples prove that good quality A dissertations may normally be elaborated and defended within 3 years (sometimes sooner). The insufficient commitment of some university teachers to the training of young scientists was criticized. There is actually no reason why this problem cannot be tackled and settled relatively quickly. If it is really true that a substantial percentage of university teachers is unwilling to accept a commitment to the training of young scientists, we obviously need to organize a dispute--as far as this is due to a mental attitude; if caused by technical considerations, such an approach is even more urgently required.



Finally we consider it imperative to systematically expand the various approaches with regard to special GDR-wide scientific events directly for the young scientists of a particular discipline. Challenging scientific events, whether organized for or by young scientists of outstanding caliber, have an eminent role in the scientific and personal evolution of the young scientists. They also encourage scientific communications among the young scientists. Events of that kind have been organized by the advisory council for economics as well as by colleges and universities, for example the Wilhelm-Pieck University in Rostock.

At the conclusion of the discussions in our working group, we agreed that the many suggestions should be taken up by the scientific advisory council and the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs to be further processed. Subsequently it would be useful to elaborate and submit a general and complete body of materials for the training of young economics.

Working Group IV: Harry Groschupf, Deputy Minister for University and Technical School Affairs

The discussion in working group IV (engineering sciences) was characterized by constructive contributions and a critical spirit. The outstanding feature was the general effort by the description of positive experiences, whether of a personal kind or gained in the course of management work, to develop new approaches to the selection, promotion and effective deployment of young scientists.

It was typical for the exchange of opinions and experiences, the atmosphere in our working group, that its members addressed supplementary remarks and questions to the speakers at the discussion. Some contradictions to the opinions expressed were also heard.

The discussion may generally be considered as expressing total agreement with the analysis presented by the Minister for University and Technical School Affairs, the contributions of the FDJ General Council and the Central Executive Committee of the Science Trade Union as well as with the tasks, approaches and methods of the future training of young scientists. The theses issued by the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs in preparation of the Central Working Conference met with the approval of the attendants at the conference and, taking into account the progressive proposals, concrete supplementations and critical suggestions offered, the future training of young engineers will be based on them.

With your kind permission, I will attempt to specially describe six generally held opinions among the multitude of constructive and progressive views and proposals expressed in the course of the discussion:

1. The basic and indispensable preconditions for the education and training of a well qualified new generation of scientists is deemed to be the creative effort of the college teacher, the students' and young engineers' commitment to scientific work, an ambitious and critical spirit in the research collectives and a well defined awareness of social responsibility.

2. While acknowledging the necessary differentiation of specialized development, the need to take account of individual inclinations and talents, one of the chief tasks of the college teacher in our society is the education of the young generation of scientists in socialist convictions on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the definition of character features and ethical standards inherent in socialism. Several speakers at the discussion emphasized that it is imperative always and consciously to create the appropriate developmental and testing situations.

3. As a rule, the successful training of young scientists begins as intensive work with the students. Many of the speakers at the discussion considered the following essential: Early selection and conscious encouragement by comradesly help and great challenges as well as involvement in creative research collectives. This opinion was backed by significant personal experiences, persuasively reported by young scientists who emphasized the active role of the Free German Youth and work in that youth federation.

4. The great dynamism of economic development and rapid scientific progress call for an equally dynamic development of young scientists. The discussion stressed the special responsibility and role of engineering sciences, and the speakers emphasized the fact that economic growth, the performance capacity of industry, the status of the GDR on foreign markets, largely depend on the success we achieve in early recognition of those new fields and trends which strongly affect the renewal processes in industry, construction, transportation and communications, the technological standard of production, and how well we will manage to quickly train the scientists and engineers required.

5. It seems to me remarkable that we were able at the end to note the prevalence of the following opinion: Soundness of training, the breadth and depth of the sociological and natural science-technical training of young scientists and the rate of their development do not represent alternatives nor are they mutually exclusive. It is obviously up to the artfulness of the college teacher to combine both in a useful synthesis. At the same time I would like to stress that many speakers at the discussion, in particular college teachers, pointed out that the breadth and soundness of scientific and methodological education is extremely important for future work in new fields of science, engineering and technology as well as for interdisciplinary efforts, and that several years of work in responsible jobs in industry are an indispensable requirement for our future engineers if we aim to realize the unity of theory and practice at a high standard.

6. The responsibility of the system of higher education and the academies for challenging basic theoretical natural science and engineering research was stressed, and significant implications for the training of young scientists arose therefrom. In this connection it was evident that the standard of dissertations and speed of graduation primarily depends on ambitious research targets and efforts at achieving original solutions. Very important here is the role of modern research technologies, the development of efficient research equipment and improvements in the construction of scientific apparatus. This, in turn, requires us to train engineers capable of handling these demands.

Working Group IX: Prof Dr Siegfried Schwanke, Deputy Minister for University and Technical School Affairs

The theses for working group IX (management) turned out to be a satisfactory basis for our discussions. It was therefore suggested to edit them for use by the management cadres at universities and colleges.

Many concrete proposals were submitted, which will need to be thoroughly analyzed at a later stage.

The following points were elaborated:

1. Management must above all concentrate on the political motivation of college teachers and young scientists, so that a politico-ideological atmosphere may prevail in all collectives, conducive to the improvement of the quality and speed of the training of young scientists. At the same time it was strongly emphasized that state managements must strive for and enforce much closer cooperation with the socialist youth federation and the trade union. As we have noted repeatedly, a great deal of reserves are to be found in closer cooperation between state management, FDJ and trade union leadership organizations.

2. It was strongly reaffirmed that we must consistently implement the unity of the development of science and young scientists in all their ramifications, in other words that we must achieve the unity of research planning and planning for the training of young scientists, of teaching, research and the training of young scientists.

These processes must represent solid elements of management operations at all levels. The people involved will have to work harder toward this end.

3. All proper management conditions must be created to actually guarantee the straight flow of cadre development called for by the minister, from the early spotting of promising youngsters to appointment as academics. At the same time it will be necessary to settle the problems at the junctions plainly described in the report.

4. It was stressed most emphatically that the general approach to the development of young scientists has worked well. In future, however, we must be concerned with creating special approaches with respect to top achievers. The education of young scientists may merely be the basis, and subsequently top achievers must be quickly trained by special measures.

Further consideration is needed at this point. Academics and representatives of the academy presented us with some materials to that effect, showing how this process may be promoted. We will thoroughly evaluate these proposals.

5. It was agreed that it will now be necessary to more effectively organize cooperation between institutions of higher education, scientific academies and

industry. In this context, we may not relieve the college teacher and his initiative of his responsibility. However, mandatory agreements, oriented to the main processes, need to be the basis of this initiative.

6. Many speakers addressed the problems of the social conditions to be taken into account. The same evidently happened in other working groups. It was made very plain indeed that social conditions may not be turned into obstacles for the training of young scientists. These problems can be successfully met only by the increase in total societal responsibility for the education of young scientists.

7. It was emphasized that the criteria of cadre policy must be considered with respect to the training of young scientists. At the same time, though, many speakers in the discussion indicated that these political and cadre policy criteria may of course be consciously developed, that they need to be kept in mind throughout the educational process so that they may not turn into obstacles to the development of young scientists but serve the systematic training and encouragement of our young scientists.

11698  
CSO: 2300/529

HUNGARY

INVASION OF U.S. CULTURE VIA VIDEO CRITICIZED

AU061439 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Robert Friss: "The Television Screen Today and Tomorrow"]

[Excerpts] Cable television, international satellite programs for television, video--these are the headlines of the revolution of the television screen; of the kind of development taking place in the telecommunications sector, and which we ourselves are also parts of and will be so even more in the coming years, because of the tremendous speed of the advancement of electronics.

There is another issue, the direct transmission of programs from the West, the so-called non-coded, freely receivable programs which will start next year according to plan and which will also reach our fatherland. It is perhaps not even necessary to stress in particular the already perceivable political intentions and aims of these programs, which will continue as before to serve the propaganda of the enemy in an intensified manner under the guise of new technology. Are we then talking about preventing Hungarian viewers from seeing these programs by means of some kind of administrative measures? Not at all.

Opinions differ on the number of video recorders in use in Hungary at present. We can estimate that there are several tens of thousands, and the regular viewers of them ten times as many. Knowing the price of the videos, the home cinemas, we cannot just ignore them with a shrug of the shoulders. No matter how different the basic worries of Hungarian families are today, video recorders exist and are spreading quickly. So is the black market in the videotapes, which we could justifiably call the black culture [last two words in italics]. Private individuals are flooding the market with copies for a few hundred forints and not only of mass produced videotapes but recently of laser discs [lezeres lemez] as well, and they are of excellent quality. These people copy dozens of the war films starring famous actors, and they are broadcasting how people saw World War II "from the point of view of the Germans", or, rather, how one ought to view it today. We can see adventure films in which the hero is a superman who overcomes evil with a handful of buddies! We can view karate wars and star wars--not the actual Star Wars, but thousands of variations on it--and in today's home movie houses we can even view some commando

films--well, well, there is even a classification for this genre--which show us how the "heroes" kill the communists, exploding one of their arms depots hidden in the mountains, and this is understandable even to those who do not speak German. Of course, we may also see some horror movies, thrillers, and pornographic films to satisfy a rather primitive demand.

In short, we may see all those films that the Hungarian film purchasing committees, with reason and right, do not buy on the international film markets. Thus, we can see for ourselves how true the argument is that the products of the world's film industry today are of somewhat arguable value. This is so, even if this "world" means the U.S. and associated industry in perhaps 90 percent of cases.

It is evident that such films have no place in any cable television system. Putting it in black and white: The majority of these products prepared with great technical expertise--mainly disguised as political thrillers and spy stories--are concealed or open attacks against the way of life in socialist societies and are apologia for the American way of life. These films are therefore unacceptable to us both for political and ideological reasons. We must turn away from the other films as well--the pornos and horror films--as a matter of taste and because of their uncivilized, vulgar and inhuman attitudes.

Should we then damn the video? No.

We need the video.

It is clear that we must adhere strictly to the regulations on importing videos, but simply forbidding them would not be of much help, and the black market in videotapes will prevail and flourish for a while. It is necessary to curtail it and open more and more videotheaters where those interested have access to the valuable films of the world and of Hungary.

We have to curtail the black market not because of some kind of prudishness or anti-video campaign. Rather the opposite is true: We must make every effort to promote development in the future. But this must include the protection of the genuine cultural values already achieved. In this aim we are guided by the same principles as the majority of the world, be it the developing world or Western Europe. These countries also protect and maintain their national culture against the ever so aggressive Americanization.

CSO: 2500/23

HUNGARY

## FUND FOR TRAINING OF SKILLED WORKERS: PROBLEMS, SITUATION

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Aug 85 pp 5-11

[Article, with interviews, by Imola Medve: "A Subject From Different Perspectives"]

[Text] Joint Decree of the Ministers of Labor and Finance No 2/1972 established a fund for the training of skilled workers, on the basis of authority granted under Government Resolution No 2013/1971. Its purpose was to split between the state and the enterprises the costs of training skilled workers, respectively to end the inequitable burden on the enterprises.

The joint decree requires enterprises and cooperatives to contribute between 0.2 and 0.35 percent of their wage bill to the training of skilled workers, regardless of whether they themselves are training apprentices. The contributions flow into a fund that was managed initially by the Ministry of Labor; since 1980, it has been managed by the Ministry of Culture and Education. Payments from the fund are made to the enterprises and cooperatives that participate directly in the training of skilled workers.

The fund could be used to finance the costs of the apprentices' practical training, the grants that the apprentices received, and modernization of the conditions of training. The number of apprentices an enterprise had determined the amount it received: between 1,800 and 3,000 forints per apprentice, depending on the classification of the crafts for which the apprentices were being trained.

The use to which this aid could be put was rather over-regulated initially. Ten percent had to be placed in the profit-sharing fund; half, in the development fund; 40 percent had to be credited to other revenue; and the purposes for which the allocations to each of these funds could be spent were specified.

Thus everyone contributed to the fund for the training of skilled workers, and every production unit that trained skilled workers shared in it, but the payouts were too small to be able to significantly improve the conditions of training. In other words, the fund was completely frittered away during the first years, and we could say that it served merely as tuition money. The accumulating experience led to the modification of the fund's use, but without affecting its objective that remains valid to this day. Regrettably, as a result of the direct or indirect interaction of several factors, the proportion of the fund that can be used for practical training is declining nonetheless.



Today barely more than half of the fund serves practical training at the enterprises, which is plagued by rather diverse problems. Our compilation attempts to trace the path leading to the present situation.

#### Invitation to Raid

Modifications split into periods the barely 10-year history of the fund for the training of skilled workers. To learn about the background, we interviewed Magdolna Benke, scientific staff member of the Education Research Institute (Oktataskutató Intézet).

[Question] How soon after its promulgation was the 1972 joint decree amended?

[Benke] A new joint decree of the ministers of labor and finance appeared in 1976, giving priority to aiding apprentice workshops. At the same time, the grants to apprentices--work clothes, and contributions to the cost of their lunches--were removed from among the purposes for which payments from the fund may be used. Consequently, the enterprises must administer as a part of their development fund the entire amount they receive.

The manner of disbursing the fund has also changed: payments according to the total number of apprentices have been replaced by central disbursement based on the proportions of apprentices (including the students of secondary specialized schools) in the individual industries. Disbursement continues within industries in accordance with the recommendations of the supervising agencies. Here it is mandatory to take into consideration also the recommendations of the megye councils' education departments (or Budapest Municipal Council's Education Department) and of the vertical trade unions.

[Question] On what criteria are these recommendations based?

[Benke] The supervising agencies, in accordance with the development plans, must recommend for aid primarily those enterprises that (1) are supplying needs regarded as essential from the viewpoint of the national economy and (2) are able to develop conditions of training that conform to the requirements of the curricula.

[Question] That sounds fair.

[Benke] Yes, it does. In spite of this, however, the training of skilled workers has not fared well overall, because qualitative development is limited by considerations of economic efficiency that have priority and serve as the factor on which selection is based. For primarily those enterprises can expect aid since then that are able to contribute also resources of their own to the planned development of apprentice workshops.

[Question] Consequently, also the training of manpower replacements has become more difficult at the enterprises that are poor or becoming impoverished. Yet whether an enterprise operates profitably or unprofitably is not necessarily reflected in the practical training at that enterprise. But if the conditions of this practical training also begin to worsen in the absence of aid, not only the given enterprise will stand to lose, but also the firms than will "share" these poorly trained young skilled workers. Not to mention the apprentices

themselves, for it is not at all their fault that they are given diplomas as skilled workers without proper qualifications. But it seems that we must include this among life's basic injustices, at least until there are sufficient resources to modernize all the apprentice workshops. It is also true, however, that the contributions of the leading enterprises could increase the fund that is available for this purpose.

[Benke] Yes, of course. But what we see now is that the fund is diminishing. The raids on it began when the basic decree was first amended.

[Question] What does that mean?

[Benke] The first time it meant only that 10 percent of the fund had to be transferred to the Ministry of Finance, to cover the overspending of the secondary specialized schools that train skilled workers. But in 1981 there were two more heavy raids on the fund for the training of skilled workers. One of these raids was a 25-percent development tax that had to be paid into the state budget. The background of this levy was that the National Planning Office and the Ministry of Finance reviewed the funds that were being managed separately by the various central agencies. Jointly these funds removed substantial resources from the influence of the economic regulators. It was impossible to determine exactly what effect this total had on the structure of investments and on the flow of other financial resources. Therefore the idea also arose of terminating some of these funds.

[Question] I do not think we will ever reach the point where educational investments have to be limited for whatever reason.

[Benke] The less so because, since 1978, the enterprises have to compete for aid from the fund. In their applications for aid the enterprises must provide data on their developmental objective, the schedule of its realization, and its costs. To its application an enterprise must attach also the recommendations of the school at which the enterprise's apprentices are receiving theoretical instruction, and of the council on whose territory the enterprise is located. It is the right and obligation of the school to evaluate whether the enterprise applying for aid meets the conditions that warrant development.

[Question] Are the schools able to make such assessments?

[Benke] Their ability to do so probably varies from case to case. More important, in my opinion, is that it may be in a school's interest to support a planned development project even when it finds that the necessary conditions are not ensured. But even aside from this, the system of competing for aid is too complicated. The Ministry of Industry issued new guidelines in 1983 that urge the establishment of central apprentice workshops. But the ministry's efforts have been in vain, because the 1978 guidelines of the Ministry of Labor are also in force. The preferential objectives of the aid for which the enterprises are competing are very diverse, and therefore we do not have much of a system of preferences. The central agencies that manage the fund--the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and the Ministry of Domestic Trade up to 1980; thereafter the Ministry of Culture and Education, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and the Ministry of Domestic Trade--rank the objectives only when all the applications are in.

[Question] In other words, the enterprises apply "just in case," and then their reasons are either accepted or rejected?

[Benke] The system of competing for aid has many pitfalls. First of all, there are too many promoters, collaborators and persons responsible, but their involvement is merely perfunctory. For, in the final outcome, the development project is in the interest of everyone; and since financing cannot be expected from any other source, nobody is willing to assume the thankless role of vetoing the project out of hand. Secondly, they cannot be held accountable when the wrong decision is made.

[Question] Does anyone check, and how, whether the enterprises actually use for the training of skilled workers the amounts they receive?

[Benke] Over and above the checking in the course of the annual supervisory audits, since 1982 the Ministry of Finance also checks the use of the aid granted from the fund. Cases were uncovered of enterprises installing the purchased machines in their production lines, instead of using them for training in the apprentice workshops. Such enterprises had to repay the aid they received, and they were also fined. The number of such irregularities has declined in recent years.

[Question] We have not discussed as yet the third "raid."

[Benke] The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution that the scholarships for apprentices attending secondary specialized schools (third- and fourth-year students) must be financed from the fund for the training of skilled workers. The stringencies underlying this decision are fairly complicated. But the root of the problem can be traced to the dual system of training skilled workers. Actually the system of training skilled workers at secondary specialized schools was outdated already at the time of its introduction. In terms of scholarships, protective clothing and protective beverages, however, the apprentices studying at these schools were granted the same rights as the apprentices attending vocational technical schools, even though the links of the former with their enterprises were much looser.

[Question] I remember that the secondary specialized schools, too, protested against the urgent introduction of this form of training. At that time the Labor Ministry's main department concerned nearly sued me for libel because of my report on this question. What is the situation today?

[Benke] The enterprises still do not regard as their own the apprentices attending secondary specialized schools, because these apprentices are of less use to the enterprises than their fellow apprentices are who are attending vocational technical schools. Some of the former apprentices want to continue their studies, and thus they are an uncertain source of manpower to begin with. No wonder the enterprises considered these apprentices a bother from the very outset. Many enterprises simply refused to pay these apprentices their scholarships.

[Question] Perhaps this, too, was a contributing factor in the decision to finance the scholarships from the fund for the training of skilled workers.

[Benke] This is something I have not been able to reconstruct. But the fact remains that the fund is being drained of more and more money, because the scholarships have been increased in the meantime.

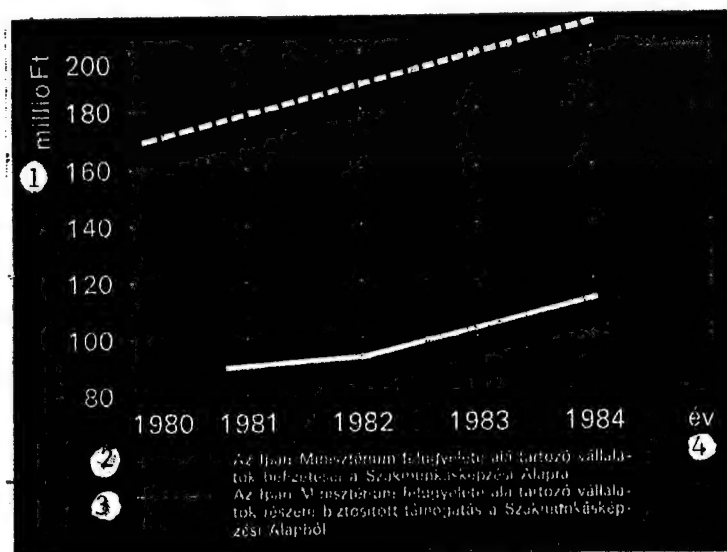
I regard as more fundamental the problem that a regular and continuous source of revenue, the tax to finance the training of skilled workers, is unable to fulfill its original function because it offers even today a temptation to use its revenue to plug major or minor deficits. It is likewise evident that developmental objectives of unequal importance are competing with one another at present. In my opinion, the establishment of central apprentice workshops, which the Ministry of Industry is urging, ought to be financed from other central resources. In this case it would be easier to evaluate the other demands on the fund.

#### Ministry of Industry Guidelines

The following are excerpts from the guidelines that the Ministry of Industry issued in 1983:

Pursuant to the executory instructions to the 1969 Law on the Training of Skilled Workers, also several enterprises may establish or operate a joint apprentice workshop. Since for most crafts in industry the establishment, operation and modernization of apprentice workshops place a heavy financial burden

Contributions to the Fund for the Training of Skilled Workers by Enterprises Under the Supervision of the Ministry of Industry, and the Amounts of Aid They Received From the Fund



Key:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Million forints  | 3. Aid from the fund to enterprises under the supervision of the Ministry of Industry |
| 2. Contributions to the fund by enterprises under the supervision of the Ministry of Industry | 4. Year   |

on the enterprises, and the degree of the workshops' utilization is inadequate in most cases, it will be expedient for individual enterprises to organize their workshops for practical training so that apprentices may be trained there also for several other enterprises in the given geographic and administrative subdivision (megye or city).

In financing the costs of establishing a central apprentice workshop, such investment projects shall have priority in the disbursement of aid from the fund for the training of skilled workers. The enterprise on whose premises the central apprentice workshop is to be built shall submit the application for aid, also on behalf of the contracting partners. The enterprises that cooperate in establishing and operating the apprentice workshop shall be given preference when their requirements for their intake of apprentices are reviewed.

The enterprises that contract to establish a central apprentice workshop shall share its operating costs proportionately with their intake of apprentices. It will be expedient to specify in the contract the quotas of apprentices for the individual enterprises. The continuous modernization of the central apprentice workshops is likewise a joint task, and the applications for aid for this purpose from the fund for the training of skilled workers shall also enjoy priority. So far the 20 central apprentice workshops now in operation have received a total of 101 million forints in aid from the fund.

#### Not Half Bad Even as a Fine

Since 1980, the Ministry of Culture and Education has been administering and coordinating the fund for the training of skilled workers. In the ministry's Main Department of Secondary Education, I interviewed Dr Istvanne Osztrosits, the principal in charge of the fund.

[Question] What is the amount that the ministry is administering? In other words, how much do the enterprises and cooperatives pay each year into the fund's account?

[Osztrosits] About half billion forints flows into the fund each year. The total this year has been 572 million forints, and the enterprises applying for aid got back approximately 390 million forints. The demand for aid is about three times this amount. However, we could transfer to the enterprises only as much as they are able to spend this year. Furthermore, a proportion of the applications had to be rejected due to shortcomings in the content of the applications. Namely, many applicants fail even now to observe the technical and economic normatives, the maximum price, and the standards. But we are not willing to turn a blind eye to the regulations, because it is not in anyone's interest to have lean-tos built instead of apprentice workshops. We will support only development projects of which we will not be ashamed even 20 years from now. The plants have been attempting for years to have us buy their old machinery, arguing that even such machines were good enough for the apprentices; this would have augmented the money the enterprises earmarked for new production equipment. Aside from the fact that irregularities violate the law, we must curb them strictly so that at least the apprentice workshops at the enterprises may be modern. Because the state of the school workshops is

deplorable. Aside from the fund, the ministry does not have any other resources available for renewal and replacement, and the councils are likewise poor. Yet at least 700 million forints would be needed just for renewal.

[Question] What proportion of the apprentices are being trained in school workshops?

[Osztrosits] There are workshops at 55 percent of the schools, but only 15 percent of the apprentices are receiving practical training in them. Thus 85 percent have to master the techniques of their crafts in the apprentice workshops at the enterprises or at workstations in production. I do not regard this ratio as ideal, but the proportion of the budget that may be spent on training makes a significant expansion of the school workshops' capacity illusory. There is even a shortage of classrooms: there are 3.7 groups of apprentices for every classroom, if we disregard the temporary and rented classrooms. The optimal ratio would be two groups per classroom. (Namely, classes alternate with practical training, and the groups of apprentices alternate accordingly.)

[Question] The production units do not dispute the justification of sharing the costs between the state and the enterprises. They realize that they are training their own replacements as well. But they object, and justifiably so in my opinion, that the scholarships for the apprentices studying in secondary specialized schools are absorbing too much of the fund for the training of skilled workers. How much do these scholarships amount to this year?

[Osztrosits] The total is indeed large: 120 million forints.

[Question] And since apprentices studying in secondary specialized schools are a relatively new form of training, with an increase in the enrollment of third- and fourth-year apprentices--the ones that receive scholarships--this amount will increase further, at the expense of the fund for the training of skilled workers.

[Osztrosits] At the expense of an already reduced fund, because we transfer before disbursement 15 percent of the total to the Ministry of Finance, as development tax.

[Question] I though the rate of this tax is 25 percent.

[Osztrosits] Up to now it has indeed been 25 percent. This year, specifically because of the increase in scholarships, the rate has been reduced to 15 percent.

[Question] Because of the new regulators that became effective as of January of this year, however, the fund for the training of skilled workers is burdened with certain taxes twice. Could you explain this double taxation?

[Osztrosits] According to the provisions of the decrees on income regulation and the formation of the incentive fund, which became effective as of 1 January 1985, the enterprises must pay a 3-percent capital tax, 25-percent accumulation tax, and 10-percent wage tax. These general provisions affect

especially unfavorably the production units that are training skilled workers. The tax on fixed assets used for training discourages the modernization of the stock of such assets, particularly at the smaller cooperatives. Indeed, some of the production units may even be tempted to liquidate their apprentice workshops. Moreover, the exemption of the apprentice workshops from construction tax has ceased. And since aid from the fund for the training of skilled workers flows into the enterprise's incentive fund, where it is intended for accumulation, this aid increases the amount of the accumulation tax.

[Question] Then why does the Ministry of Culture and Education transfer in advance the accumulation tax?

[Osztrosits] Naturally, we became aware that this way the assets of the fund for the training of skilled workers would be subjected to double taxation. And we advised the Ministry of Finance already in January that the enterprises which are training skilled workers ought to be exempted from the mentioned taxes. But the Ministry of Finance has not taken any action so far.

[Question] To my knowledge, the enterprises are expecting you to remedy this situation directly.

[Osztrosits] Telephone calls and letters day after day indicate that the production units, unless their burdens from the training of skilled workers are reduced, will prefer not to apply for aid from the fund, will cancel their commitments in conjunction with the training of apprentices, and will close down their apprentice workshops. And they absolutely refuse to build new workshops.

[Question] Can they do this?

[Osztrosits] So far there has been no need to regulate this question; now we are working on it. According to the information I have received, the enterprises' requirements for apprentices next year have already dropped by 30 percent in some megyes: in Szolnok and Veszprem, for example. Just now when the demographic bulge is approaching the secondary schools!

[Question] But the enterprises are still hoping that the Ministry of Finance will amend the regulations.

[Osztrosits] We, too, hope so.

#### Replacements in Jeopardy

Mrs Janos Nagy, the principal in charge of education at the Szabolcs-Szatmar Megye KISZOV [Association of Industrial Cooperatives], shows me a letter addressed to the Ministry of Culture and Education. Copies, she tells us, were sent to the OKISZ [National Federation of Industrial Cooperatives] and to the Ministry of Finance.

As we learn from the letter, the 41 cooperatives and 7 small cooperatives belonging to the megye association are training 1,600 apprentices and are deeply committed to modernizing the apprentice workshops, in spite of the fact that the construction costs are rising and the invested amounts cannot be recovered.



But since the construction of an apprentice workshop or of an institution for the welfare of apprentices greatly increases the cooperatives' "assets," such development projects can be expected to cease.

Namely, the new system of regulation--in a departure from the past--does not offer any benefits to encourage the construction of apprentice workshops, but raises the capital tax. A further problem is the wage tax on scholarships, the instructors' wages, and the apprentices' earnings. As a combined result of all this, the number of cooperatives participating in the training of apprentices can be expected to drop sharply, and the apprentice workshops will be converted for production purposes.

[Question] Do scholarships count as taxable wages?

[Nagy] Yes. Only the first-year apprentices undergoing basic training receive their scholarships from the school. Unless they are working for performance wages, the second- and third-year apprentices get their scholarships from the cooperatives.

[Question] The scholarship that a third-year apprentice receives is obviously less than what he could earn if he were paid performance wages. Can a cooperative decide to reward an apprentice's productive work only with a scholarship?

[Nagy] Naturally, the cooperatives are considering doing this. After all, an apprentice is not on the cooperative's payroll. Then why should he burden the cooperative's payroll budget? However, the fact that the apprentice ends up getting somewhat less money will not be the only consequence of this variation. More importantly, when he finishes his apprenticeship he might be more tempted to go and work for an agricultural cooperative if it offers him an hourly wage higher by one forint. Because he will not have the opportunity to experience already during his apprenticeship that his earnings depend on his performance. After a time, of course, he will realize also in the agricultural cooperative's ancillary production that his hourly wage depends on his performance. But is it certain that the work he will be doing there will be skilled work? Or will he forget the skills which he has been taught, and which are sorely needed in the clothing and shoe-industry cooperatives that are working for export and are demanding work of high quality? We are the ones who have trained cooperative industry's skilled workers; their average age is only 26. But in wages we are unable to compete with what the agricultural cooperatives are offering them.

[Question] I suspect that the temptations of the agricultural cooperatives' ancillary production have already been causing problems.

[Nagy] That is true. But now the likelihood of yielding to these temptations is greater.

[Question] Can you really imagine that the cooperatives will discontinue training, convert the apprentice workshops, renounce aid from the fund for the training of skilled workers, and thereby renounce also the training of their own replacements?

[Nagy] For years our cooperatives have been devoting immense effort and money to the training of skilled workers. Not out of generosity, of course, but to be able to produce marketable products. Here again the point is not that the cooperatives want to take advantage of the available opportunity "to get rid of" training apprentices, because of the regulators. But they have to earn the higher costs of the increased scholarships. Further tension is caused by the fact that the cooperatives are unable to pay their own craft instructors as much as the schools' craft instructors are being paid, and the latter are entitled also to longer vacations. Simply speaking, the cooperatives just cannot afford the new withdrawals.

[Question] But the second- and third-year apprentices are already producing. I doubt that the cooperatives are losing money on their training.

[Nagy] Even if it were unprofitable to train skilled workers, the cooperatives in Szabolcs-Szatmar Megye would still need to train them. It is also their obligation to train replacements--especially in the case of services--for the unsupplied areas, the villages. So that there will be at least one skilled worker per craft in each smaller settlement who can work in accordance with the population's requirements and is able to earn a living from his work. If we do not train youths properly for their crafts, we will demoralize them because the work they undertake will not be acceptable to their customers. To train them properly, we obviously need suitably equipped apprentice workshops. It must be admitted that we have been receiving aid handsomely from the fund during the past year or two. But the apprentice workshops' operating costs alone have proved a large enough burden. How are we able to pay also the construction tax and the capital tax?!

It is indeed true that all this borders on being a fine. Yet the national economy sorely needs the foreign exchange that the young skilled workers of the Szabolcs-Szatmar Megye cooperatives earn. And both manpower management and the development of settlements are relying on the training of skilled workers to provide services.

More of the Same, Differently

Andras Mehesz, the chief accountant of the Nyirbator Clothing Industry Cooperative, comes immediately to the point.

[Mehez] I attach more importance to the figures than to the constant whining. From our total profit of 51 million forints during the past five years, we have paid 38 million forints in various taxes. To attract labor, we have been forced to raise wages by 7 percent, even at the cost of the higher tax on pay increases. Of course we need replacements! This lean-to into which we now are obliged to crowd our apprentices does not meet the most elementary requirements. We are not even able to let the apprentices practice every phase of our production. There is no room for anything except the sewing machines, and even they are practically touching one another. But how can we afford to start construction if a 10-million-forint investment project means a tax burden of 2.0 million forints? Even if we get 80 percent of the investment cost in aid from the fund for the training of skilled workers, from what are we supposed to pay the higher overhead--heat, electricity--and the additional capital tax? Yet we

should be buying also button, buttonhole and modern pressing machines. Tell me, how can we raise productivity with the equipment that we have?!

An entirely different picture and mood greet me a few streets further, at the Woodworking Industry Cooperative. Dust-catching equipment has been installed this spring in the spacious, bright and modernly equipped apprentice workshop built last year. Every condition exists for adjusting practical training to the curriculum. Of the ten young skilled workers who completed their apprenticeships this year, five decided to stay with the cooperative and immediately signed contracts. Attachment to the cooperative is stronger because the cabinetmaker's apprentices are coming here from their first year on, and they even receive their basic training in the cooperative's apprentice workshop. I interviewed Lajos Kaliba, the cooperative's chairman.

[Question] How much did the workshop and its equipment cost?

[Kaliba] A total of 6.5 million forints.

[Question] And how much aid has the fund for the training of skilled workers provided toward covering this cost?

[Kaliba] In round numbers, 4.3 million forints.

[Question] How much are you obliged to contribute annually to the fund?

[Kaliba] Our annual wage bill is 6.0 million forints, and we contribute 0.35 percent of that. But if the point you are trying to make is whether we would build the apprentice workshop even under the present conditions, my answer without hesitation is No, absolutely not.

We wish to remark in an undertone that Szabolcs-Szatmar is one of the megyes from where manpower replacement can still be expected. But it is not all the same whether the replacements are skilled or unskilled workers. And the training of industrial workers is just as burdensome at enterprises as at cooperatives. But this applies nationally, of course.

The Enterprise for the Construction of Public Buildings (Kozepuletepito Vallalat) provides practical training for a thousand apprentices. Since investments have declined, and the reconstruction and rehabilitation projects tend to have a greater need for the traditional crafts, enrollment in the 14 crafts taught has been adjusted accordingly: 30 percent of the apprentices are being trained to become masons.

Tibor Kardos, chief of the Main Department of Personnel and Training, told me the following.

[Kardos] The new regulators have added 2.5 million forints to the costs of training apprentices. We petitioned the Ministry of Culture and Education to

request the Ministry of Finance for exemption from the additional taxes on the training of skilled workers. The Ministry of Construction and Urban Development is aware of, and appreciates, the importance of training. I too feel that this activity merits recognition, even if it is true that we are training our own replacements. But allow me to mention something in conjunction with the raising of scholarships this year, at our expense: it is strange that the enterprises were not even consulted. Thus, whether we like it or not, we are paying the kids scholarships on the basis of their average grades. And occasionally we may be paying more to apprentices who have an excellent grade, say, in history, but are doing poorly in practical training, which after all is more important from the viewpoint of the enterprise.

It would be stretching things to say that this obligation serves the enterprise's interests.

Tibor Paizs, head of the Department of Personnel and Instruction at the Trans-Danubian Petroleum Industry Machine Factory (Dunantuli Koolajipari Gepgyar), informs me of a relatively pleasant problem. Noting the industry's shortage of metal-cutting capacity, they are developing their specialization in this direction and are also making giant strides in improving the conditions of training. The admission fee is to finance from the enterprise's own resources already half [rather than 20 percent] of the cost that aid from the fund for the training of skilled workers does not cover; but the Ministry of Industry may grant an exemption from this financing requirement when enterprises buy NC or CNC machines, at least until the drive ends. Well, the machine factory has ordered two CNC lathes and will get the price of one of them--more than 500,000 forints--from the fund for the training of skilled workers. Thus the machine factory will soon join the ranks of the few enterprises--Raba, and Ganz-Mavag--where apprentices are able to train on the most modern technology.

(I wish to note merely in parentheses that NC machines have been in the curricula of the vocational technical schools since 1972. But several classes have graduated without even seeing such machines.)

1014

CSO: 2500/579

HUNGARY

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC MALAISE CAUSES LITERARY ONE

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 6 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Gyorgy Asperjan: "Candle or Stick"]

[Text] Can contemporary Hungarian literature, struggling for air, be held responsible for the transformations or rather the ailments of society? Can individual writers be condemned if their personal malaise due to uncertainties and lack of perspective gives voice to society's general state of nervousness, disquietude, and melancholy? Published recently in ELET ES IRODALOM were two articles which caused me to ask the foregoing questions. One article is Andras Mezei's interview (16 August issue) with Zsigmond Dorogi, head of Hungarian Radio's literary editors, and the other is Tamas Ungvari's polemical essay (23 August issue), which received the expressive title "Palace and Hovel." The author glanced over the 9 August issue of ELET ES IRODALOM and--true to his preconception--immediately found four articles whose writers he could place in the pillory. Knowing Ungvari's mentality, there can be no doubt that he, the final arbiter, delivers the condemnatory verdict in the debate which he himself has stirred up. To these two articles with their interwoven roots I would like to add a few remarks. (I essentially disregard the Gyorgy Szabo article entitled "Literature, Farewell?" and published last week. It is linked to the interview with Dorogi and gives this response to the present-day problems of literature and the writer: there have always been such troubles, and there always will be. In the meantime "literature and the theater live.")

In this way and to this degree the matters can be disposed of--on paper. We, the citizens and writers of this small country, also live, and let us hope that we will live a little while longer. At the present moment, we are not confronted with the question "to be or not to be" but rather how to be, how to exist. How should Hungarian society and the Hungarian citizen live--in manifold contrast to the way they do at present--so that they can see a future before them, indeed, a future which can be called safe and socialist at the same time? How should Hungarian literature take shape so that with modern works it embraces human and social problems? How should the Hungarian writer live so that the life, adventures, experiences, and moods which find expression in his works of art resemble what they were borrowed from? And, finally, how should the contemporary and newborn Hungarian citizen live so that he reaches and reads what as literature speaks to and about him?

I could, of course, multiply these hows, but I will not do it, because I cannot even give answers to the ones posed so far. And I must begin by saying that I, as one Hungarian citizen and one Hungarian writer, have neither the duty nor the opportunity

to do so. Giving an answer is the task of all of us. After all, not just one Hungarian citizen, not just one Hungarian writer sees that the socialist social order, which started with historical disadvantages, has been unable to make up for its shortfalls with the existing economic and political structure. Moreover, in view of the experiences of recent years, it can be stated that the inherited disadvantages in economy, in political culture, in democracy and--as a result of everything--in the qualitative level of human life are of a historical scale and of a growing dimension. Not I alone see that despite all the successes the economy, politics, democracy and, ultimately, the surplus "human bric-a-brac," literature, must be constructed differently, if we do not want to become involved in having to ponder the question "to be or not to be." There is no single valid answer to this "differently." This "differently" can only be assembled from many "hows." This "how" cannot be a decision on this or that but only the outcome of a social struggle. Until it "emerges" within the framework of formal democracy who the spokesman, the representative, of each broader and narrower community is in politics, in power, the "how" will always be only someone's perhaps self-exculpating decision, and the genuine answer, the real change, the vital movement will be slow in coming. Tamas Ungvari fears reform. He is not alone. Knowingly or unknowingly, the overwhelming majority of society fears and demands it. All those who live with bigger and bigger worries fear and demand it. And the overwhelming majority of society's members, putting their faith in a "palace" for the few, live with bigger and bigger worries while, for example, in other parts of Europe--no matter how far away we look--oppressed, struggling, persevering, somehow something is being prepared which is perhaps a hope, in various degrees, for the given nation's members, perhaps a promise for the overwhelming majority. Because inside and outside our borders and irrespective of the social system the entire Marxist sociology must positively--while amassing tactics and strategy for us--draw the humiliating lesson that capitalism as a social system is capable of self-renewal. It must draw the strikingly simple conclusion that a human being is a creature who, no matter what social organization he lives in, wants to overcome the obstacles which pile up in front of him. And he does overcome them if the nature of the social organization is such that it directly or indirectly promotes this goal. And the question of how is always tantamount to this: how is it possible, here in this country, to turn the incontestably most modern social arrangement, socialism, into a society with such a structure and makeup?

It may be that some people find it strange, but it is possible my opinion is still valid: the hows in connection with literature always quickly lead to the questions of social existence.

The interview with Zsigmond Dorogi is erroneous, in my view, because it is based on appearances. It seems as if the trouble is with literature. After listing sham troubles and sham problems, the subject of the interview voices his opinion: "They do not dare to ask the question: why is Hungarian literature sick?" This question is foolish and primitive. I merely give formal consideration to what is included in it: who does not dare to ask the question, and why would they not dare? Who should pose the question, and what kind of answer does the questioner expect? What kind of medicine is recommended or prescribed for the illness? And the principal question: from whom? This is lost in the obscurity of Dorogi's arrogant question. Nevertheless, it is as if, toward the end of the interview, he wanted to answer his own poetic question: "Heroic and tragic protagonists from the experience material of the last 40 years exist in the public consciousness, but

they do not exist in literature. Cannot this literature identify with its own heroic and tragic figures?" What does the first part of the first sentence mean? "Heroic and tragic protagonists" exist "from the experience material"? Does it not rather boil down to the fact that the last 40 years have "produced" heroic or tragic protagonists? (If we any longer use these two bombastic adjectives and sensationalistic noun at all!) And they do not exist (have not been portrayed!) in literature! Gyorgy Szabo has correctly listed writers and works to refute this.

As a matter of fact, Dorogi refutes himself when he states in the following sentence that there are, after all, such "heroic and tragic protagonists" in literature; it is just that this literature is unable to identify with them. As opposed, let us say, to the literature of the 1950s? Or what else does this restriction mean? Furthermore, literature is never able to identify with anything; at most, the writers who produce literature identify with certain of their characters. I, for that matter, would not insist so much on identification. Usage of the word quickly hurls us back a good 30 years when it was often emphasized that literature had to portray heroic protagonists and the working masses had to identify with them. Dorogi, in any case, is so captivated by his desire to identify that he pays no attention to what he says: "...in the consumption of memoir literature, the masses certainly identify with the last 40 years." With all 40 years! And explicitly "in the consumption of memoir literature"! As if the consumption, i.e., the perusal, of something meant indiscriminate identification.

It comes to light at the end of the interview that not just Hungary's literature is sick but the entire world's. "Why should human beings read novels when television serves them a hostage drama or a local war?" Let us approach the meaning of the sentence in accordance with the rules of formal logic: up until now, human beings have been readers of novels, but now they no longer are because "television serves" (where?) "a hostage drama or a local war," and in view of this, human beings who watch television are suddenly renouncing the novel. Ergo: it is not Hungarian or world literature which is sick but rather humanity itself. If we examine the content of the sentence not with formal logic but on the basis of our experiences, then its false character becomes evident once and for all. A significant part of humanity, namely, does not watch television (because it does not have one) and does not read novels (because it has no books). What does it do instead? It struggles to make both ends meet and takes delight in the fact that it is alive. Among the people who have the opportunity to watch television there are also those who read novels (in addition to and in spite of the hostage dramas and local wars taking place elsewhere). That part of humanity which reads novels as well as watches television can also be divided into several strata. I would mention two: those who hope only for diversion and entertainment from the novel and those who know that the novel is not identical with either hostage dramas or local wars.

I only wanted to prove with this hairsplitting analysis that the arrogant question, unskillful description, and thoughtless diagnosis of anyone--like the subject of the mentioned interview--whose ideas rest on such a flimsy foundation are not worth much of anything. But the intuition of Zsigmond Dorogi, who bustles about in literary circles, that something is wrong is still correct.

Each nuance and emotional motif of the problem was described in the 9 August issue of ELET ES IRODALOM by the four writers whom Tamas Ungvari singled out. At the



end of his article, the author of "Palace and Hovel" presents the essence of the debate as if the four writers themselves were the totality of Hungarian literature with all its scenes, trends, ideas, and as if Hungarian literature could enter into the "national debate" (a national debate in our country?) only with the "intellectual capital" represented by the four articles he chose. This is a kind of manipulation unworthy of Tamas Ungvari.

The four articles are in fact a statement of mood. (Would not the well-informed Ungvari know that today workplace party groups also write statements of mood?) One of the moods is important, the other less so. I have no intention of defending the writers, but I believe that not one of them meant in his criticism to outshine the celebrated economists, economic experts, well-known political scientists, and erudite sociologists. They merely--and this is an author's right--recorded a mood of whose existence and authenticity he who lives in the current Hungarian social reality is aware without statements of mood. In contrast to Ungvari, these writers did not intend to "make a bid." They contented themselves with describing what they had seen and experienced, what their mood was at the time the article was fashioned. They did not come forth with the claim that they are now the caretakers of the entire "sick" Hungarian literature. Tamas Ungvari knows very well that in its own way and with its own resources contemporary "sick" Hungarian literature is capable of discussing important matters, if the writer--because he feels it is possible and worthwhile--takes hold of himself and does not just restrict himself to the mood statement one prefers to publish but makes a survey of broader circles. Should I list the names? Should I list the works of good literature? The shrewd and top-quality political writings? I do not know what good the tendentious question and the snappy, erroneous generalization are to Ungvari: "Would the decaying walnut tree, the palace and hovel, and the Venetian gondola be our contribution?"--to the "great game." Perhaps because it demonstrates his intellectual superiority over the others, everyone else? Or because it provides evidence for Zsigmond Dorogi's claim, proving that the literature is sick which is able only with the articles he listed to buy--that is to say, not to buy!--an admission ticket to the "great game."

Ungvari in his article asserts this erroneous logic from beginning to end. "An additional source of the despondency emanating from the cultural press is to be sought in cultural public life itself. If life and the economy merely hold a surprise in store, the system of cultural institutions meanwhile hears a single groan: there is no money." Where does the erroneous logic assert itself in the sentence? Tamas Ungvari upgrades current Hungarian social life and the economy so that he can call to account and condemn the cultural public life and the institutional system. He acts as if he did not know that the economy, unfortunately, does not merely hold a surprise in store. Because--and this is likewise unfortunate--it is not a surprise but rather the result of industrial policy of recent years and of supervision of agriculture: the economy has not fulfilled its time-proportionate plan. In summary, the system of cultural institutions is a single groan for money because nearly all are economic organizations, and since there are many bad surprises in the economy, it is natural that, as a result, this turns up first and foremost in the system of "sick" cultural institutions.

I would not like to defeat my purpose by going to the opposite extreme--making everything negative and questionable--merely in order to refute Ungvari's preconception-based logic (in this article of his at least) by which he exonerates

the economy so that he can describe cultural public life and the institutional system as sick. I know that a great deal has happened in the interest of reform. It is now evident, may I add, that many measures taken for the sake of progress--for example, the new regulatory system which bangs like shackles and is so alien to the operation of economic life--impede movement even more. As long as the current poor value system and the poor personal-interest system dictate the rhythm of industry and the economy (which is repeated often and parrotlike by many people: it is a platitude, and consequently the first half of my sentence is also a platitude), he who would be able to move the entire thing--the writer, the working man--does not in fact budge. And why does the poor value and personal-interest system remain? Because its transformation would have an adverse effect on those who benefit from the poor value and personal-interest system. At least if we try to think in a Marxist way. And here it is just as much a matter of the institutional system as of certain individuals.

Our reform is a strange creature which stands on shaky legs. Tamas Ungvari nevertheless placed the laurel wreath on its head, and dazzled by the (hoped-for?) smile which radiates in exchange, he maligns the cultural public life and the institutional system which--knowing its thousand flaws and inconsistencies--I by no means seek to save. I know that it is no better than the public life and institutional systems elsewhere. Yet a society's renewal cannot be demanded in one or two sectors of the superstructure. A society's renewal begins in the economy, the results there have an effect on intellectual rekindling, which has repercussions on the economy. Just as the Marxists taught more than 100 years ago.

Reform is the goal and the result of improvement. Reform throughout the parts is the goal and the result of a complete improvement. Reform is a society's forward movement within the existing social framework. Self-renewal without changing the essence--socialism in this case--into something else is self-negation. The entire philosophical system of this society rests on the concept of capacity for self-renewal. The self-renewal occasionally requires new people and tacticians, too. But I wonder whether it can be described as tactics resorted to in the interest of reform if somebody sees fireworks where there are none, so that in exchange he can condemn a few persons and the system of institutions.

I am defending neither the singled-out writers nor the insulted and disparaged institutions. I emphasize that very strongly. But I fear the idea of reform which Tamas Ungvari in his article uses not as a candle to scatter the darkness but as a stick. For then the concept is everything but an idea of reform.

12327

CS0: 2500/557

HUNGARY

ROLE OF EMIGRE CHURCHES IN PRESERVING NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Aug 85 p 5

/Article by Tibor Franka: "Churches and Hungarian Consciousness"/

/Text/ American-Hungarian Reformed Minister Aladar Komjathy summarized at an earlier Native Language Conference as follows his role in guarding the language and Hungarian consciousness of churches in the diaspora: "They were at once able to help in the even adjustment of our people, their collective path, and at the same time they assured continuity and were the repositories for guarding Hungarian nationality and have remained so to the present day."

In the course of the 15-year-old Native Language Movement the role of the Hungarian churches abroad in the maintenance of Hungarian culture was on the agenda for the first time at Veszprem. Many of the participants maintain that this came late, for the first Reformed community, which was followed by the Catholic, the Baptist and the Jewish, was formed as early as 1890. Karoly Bohm, the Catholic priest in Cleveland, wrote in a December issue of SZABADSAG: "...we must build a church from our own resources in order that it may be called a Hungarian church and may function as the church of the Hungarian parish, and its parishoners may represent the Hungarian nation to the world."

The beginning was difficult in particular for the Protestants, who had to build for themselves the parish and the church which at home on the Alföld (Lowland) or in Transdanubia they were accustomed to in their villages. They contributed, collected and organized in order that Sundays and Christmas could be the same as they were back home. Most of our fellow countrymen here as well as at home are Catholics. However, their situation is different--more fortunate in some respects--for most of them merged in the "rich" national Catholic Church. But both have the same leading goal, one under more difficult conditions for they raised their churches themselves, the other under easier conditions. Lajos Lorinoz had this to say about it:

"The most important factor in the development of the fate of the immigrants was the church which united them and guided them. Their churches were the symbol of Hungarian nationality, and their priests were not only their spiritual fathers but also their lawyers and judges."

"Their tasks were manifold, their existence not always easy. For example, I talked with a pastor in France who was a chauffeur in addition to his priestly calling. Often the house of worship, the school and the press had to be established under difficult conditions as well as the gatherings of Hungarians living several hundreds of kilometers from the church."

"In the course of time the importance and role of the churches also changed, said the pastor Istvan Kardos, who came from Great Britain. "Today a love for the homeland is alive only in one-third of the Hungarians. Many of them want to be English, for they will be able to get along better, and their assimilation will represent security. But many find out that there is no such blood transfusion that would change the origin of a person. In this, however, the role of the churches has been of the greatest importance, and as my colleague from Montreal Aladar Komjathy put it: "Hungarian nationality abroad will live as long as the churches."

According to Professor Mihaly Czine it is not only religion which binds together our countrymen abroad. The parish or community as a form serves for the undertaking of Hungarian nationality. This is shown by the fact that among the members of the Reformed churches, for example, we find Catholics, Transylvanian Unitarians, Jews, and in fact even those who were in no way religious in the old country.

Among the pastors there are many scholars and writers; it will suffice to mention Aladar Komjathy--his work "The Church That Staggered Forth" has also appeared in Hungary--Laszlo Vatai or Dezso Trombitas, whom we met personally in Veszprem.

"I am the first pastor of the Reformed Church in Hollywood, we were founded 26 years ago. We are one of the pioneers in the Hungarian language assembly and in establishing ties with the old country. We were the first to invite a lecturer from Hungary. One hour before he was to begin his talk I asked for help from the local police against my own brethren who wanted to make a scandal...That was a long time ago in 1970. And then wonderful years followed. Hungarian writers and artists visited us, making our meetings with the old country an actual celebration."

Mr Trombitas believes that in recent years there has been a break in development. Aside from a few exceptions the Hungarian speakers who come to meet with the scattered Hungarians are near to engaging in shuttle-presentations and special fee activities. And similarly, among our fellow countrymen who are living abroad there are some who make a living from the fact that they are Hungarians--they present lectures, hold conferences, etc--but in feeling they have for long been far removed from their native land.

Critical comments were made at the conference regarding the bad Hungarian used sometimes in liturgical texts, and the pastors who speak in a poor and unprepared manner, for there are some like that around the world. The sermons are in poor Hungarian, and there are too few brochures--or none at all--with Hungarian hymns, poems or children's games. One of the pastors who came from Austria said that in Burgenland they decorate the parish

building with Hungarian motifs, on the furniture can be seen the Korond (Corund) vase, Matyo tablecloth, and in fact even the priest's robe was made with old-country embroidery. Every small object, motif represents the homeland even though unbodied.

The composition of the faithful can often make the work of the pastor difficult--Dezso Trombitas has personal experiences in this regard. Many called him a hireling and attacked him when he openly sought for links with the native land in the 1960's. He was accused by "world federations"--and here I quote the pastor--"that would have fit into a Volkswagen." And there are many pastors who are offended and uncertain. According to Istvan Szamoskozi, Reformed bishop and the vice-chairman of the conference, it must be examined, with tact, what causes prevented a considerable number of invited pastors from coming to Veszprem.

The role of the Hungarian churches abroad also increased as the Catholic Church converted from Latin to native languages, and in this way the Hungarian language acquired a great, we might say decisive, role in liturgy. Within the parishes clubs have been formed for the elderly and young married people, and there are many excursions, film showings and holiday programs. Despite this all the pastors are worried.

"As for the future of the Hungarian congregations, it is sad but inevitable that the "melting pot," the influence of the "host" country is tenaciously carrying out its assimilation of the generations. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that we cannot count on recently arrived Hungarians," the Hollywood pastor complained. "They present themselves at the churches, to be sure, but they only want handouts, they are not interested in God or other Hungarians, only in their own to be discovered America. The upbringing of rootless young people--these open wounds of the homeland--often presents an insolvable problem.

Among the participants at the conference from 126 countries--including all the surrounding socialist states except Romania--the young were absent, not one arrived. The dinner discussion centered on what will happen in 15 to 20 years when the present "links" are no longer among the living. (Two great personalities of Hungarians abroad, Zoltan Szabo and Laszlo Cs. Szabo died recently.) Perhaps it is still not too late to seize opportunity by the tail--the more optimistic ones say. We need to invite and sent out more priests, we need to improve the relations of the churches.

"Hungarian life within the borders or without was never cream to the bottom," said Denis Sinor from the United States--"and still our nation does not stand at the brink of the grave, nor will it disappear because it wants to live. That we were and are is a great achievement. Let us not complain of this. At least a team that has lost every football game should not lament. It is not Calvary to be a Hungarian, or a mission, but a natural way of life. Let all my fellow countrymen feel like this wherever they live in the world."

6691

CSO: 2500/17

POLAND

'TOURISTS' WAIT LONG, UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR U.S. VISAS

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 34, 23 Aug 85 pp 18-19

[Article by Mirosława Okolska: "Tourism Threatened"]

[Text] Saddened groups of exhausted nervous people in front of firmly closed gates of consulates and embassies, of people holding passports in hand, provide evidence of the fact as to where the eyes of that mesh through which people going abroad must pass, grow ever tighter. Only interviews with these persons confirm one's conviction that it grows increasingly difficult to leave Poland. It is not because of a refusal to issue passports, but because of a refusal to issue visas.

The representatives of foreign countries defend themselves against travelling Poles. He is a poor newcomer who is not about to squander a fortune abroad. Our trips are but a banal "fragment" in the developed tourist industry of Europe. The departing Pole--is eventually a potential emigrant--is the way we are presently viewed. For that reason, when someone from Poland travels to England at the invitation of one's family residing there since the war, it is not done "off hand"--one must visit the consulate repeatedly for special proving interviews. Similar interviews are conducted in England with the person extending the invitation.

If the tourist while enroute to his country of destination wishes to travel through Austria--he must apply for a visitor's visa. Transit visas are not issued. And a visitor's visa is an invitation which is validated by the police and investigated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of that country. Because of the difficulties associated with visas, "Orbis" has discontinued the organization of long-standing trips to Austria this year, as well as trips passing through Austria. The waiting period for a visitor's visa excessively lengthens into many weeks in various countries.

Embassy office hours for clients are short--generally from 9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. on various days, with various modifications. Therefore travellers from all over Poland frequently stand in front of embassies throughout the entire night, because one might "not get in." Lines forming all-night vigils stand in front of the embassies of West Germany, Italy and the USA.

Experienced in waiting in line for washing machines or furniture, the Poles unite with unusual proficiency, self-sacrifice and calmness. Social duties, a tablet in the hand of a democratically selected person, a list of names, a chronological number. A roll call at a designated hour, the issuance of "numbers" indicating a place in the line one-half hour before the opening. But however when I was in front of the U.S. consulate on a certain Friday, people came away with nothing because on Wednesday and Thursday there were no forms there to be filled out. On Friday a part of the line did not gain entrance. Hence the representatives of Friday's line and Monday's line in formation since Sunday evening conducted all-night turns of duty. A roll call of both lists was conducted.

Every third person with whom I have spoken has already submitted an application and was refused. But there are no statistics available as to the frequency with which the embassy refuses to issue an applicant a visa. It is his private matter... He has a passport for 3 years. He can try during that period of time. There is also no such evidence in the passport office. After 3 years and 14 days, because it then expires, someone often surrenders the unused passport stating that he did not receive a visa, sometimes he provides no explanation as to why he did not depart. The passport offices, presently issuing more passports than last year, only tally the number of border crossings and base their statistics solely on this.

Mrs. Maria, I know only her first name, has no place in these statistics. She repeatedly applied for a visa for almost 3 years. She will not have to surrender her passport. Her husband, a well known specialist, was invited to lecture by one of the American colleges. He received a visa easily. He now has the opportunity to conduct research and experiments; he expands his sphere of work, he extends his stay, but yearns for his wife and awaits her arrival. Mrs. Maria has already spoken with the consul. If her husband had sought political asylum or had applied for American citizenship she would have received a visa... Her husband has not done this. He has a home, work, wife and two children in Poland. The research which is underway, the opportunity for specialization and a standing offer by the college to employ him for as long as possible keep him in the USA.

--Humanitarian concern for "family unity" manifests itself only in good advice for other countries--Maria comments ironically. She will not reveal her last name. She avoids being photographed. ... "After all, I depend on them"... she explains. Therefore the camera lens will not pick her out of the crowd.

--These are familiar cases, comment the employees of the passport office. Specialists depart quickly, are paid the least, are exploited. Their families have problems. Especially the rural families. In provinces like Lomza or Siedlice, visa denials, in our estimation, approach 60 to 70 percent.

Tourism faces a crisis. It is characterized by humiliating obscurity and long waiting. Waiting with a full set of documents at the gates of embassies. Waiting for weeks, long by all official estimates, for official notification at home. And refusal without justification.

9951

CSO: 2600/1049



## ANONYMOUS WORKER WRITES ABOUT SOLIDARITY, ELECTIONS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 29 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] We tend to forget the past easily and quickly, and we find it even easier to beautify it, especially when it seems necessary for any reason in order to assess past events. This can be exemplified in the article published below, which presents a very subjective assessment of the situation in Poland in 1980-81 and of Solidarity itself. Its author (an electronic technician employee at a large factory, married, two children, not a member of any party) is wrong in asserting that Solidarity "never stood a chance of being just an ordinary state union" and "there was no room for it right from the start." Facts, and not smart journalistic assertions, contradict his claims totally, but the author forgets about facts, perceiving only the problems within his reach at the time, those directly involving his community.

He does not mention the subsequent, clearly destructive role of the union, the destruction of the economy through strikes and blockades, escalated pay and social demands the disarray of state institutions, the talks broken off and the agreements violated. Neither does he mention the declared position of confrontation clearly defined by the Solidarity leadership. However, we clearly remember all this.

But the author's opinions are not unique (it is a pity he insisted on remaining anonymous); they can be heard here and there, even during meetings with candidates for Sejm deputies, and alongside other, far different opinions. We are not all of one mind, and substantial dialogue is not possible without differences and controversies. We decided, therefore, to present the controversial opinions of the 30-year old technician, because they serve to illustrate the constructive evolution taking place in human minds.

Editors

\* \* \*

Why did I come to this consultative meeting?

Well, I have to review the past before our conversation can begin to make sense. I have to engage in a civic self-examination. I wouldn't be here and I wouldn't be who I am now, had it not been for Solidarity, of which I was an

active member. Civic, social work and involvement cannot be imposed by decree. This is why I always avoided such activities. Until August 1980....

This was unique--a rejection of all rituals, patterns and dreams. Much depended on us, the ordinary people. There was a lot to shout about. Just talking about some topics was like having a refreshing shower. I went back to reading books avoided until then. I wanted to understand society, and what constituted the essence of socialism. The time for reflection came later. I know one thing for certain: after Solidarity, nothing can ever be the same. This period has influenced our consciousness very strongly. We think in different terms. I do not regret those days and nights, and I won't let anybody snatch them away from me.

What was Solidarity? I wish to stress that when talking about Solidarity, I mean its rank-and-file, and not the authorities. After all, everything depended on us, in terms of the arrangement of forces, and not on various clashes at voivodship or central levels. Well, where was I?

Solidarity was a political movement and only a fool would deny it. But this does not mean Mieczyslaw Rakowski was right in accusing us of this. Solidarity was a political movement because it had to be so. I say outright: it never stood a chance of being just an ordinary trade union. Protest and mutiny against the authorities are always political, and economic demands are inseparable from politics, something Premier Rakowski as a Marxist should well know. I understand that such charges are attractive in print and propaganda, but they cannot be an argument in political practice. It is like blaming a sick mother for giving birth to a sick baby. Solidarity was such a baby, an overdue baby of authorities at that time alienated from the public.

Was martial law a necessity? Yes, but not for the reasons officially given. The very fact of Solidarity's emergence in the way it did, and consequently its characteristics, led to a political struggle, and this is something our system cannot accept on such a scale; that is why right from the start there was no room for Solidarity. I think that in the end we all knew what would happen, and were relieved when it did. In particular, [Solidarity's] National Coordinating Commission (KKP), which, with all of us, found itself in stalemate. However, life is not chess, and in real life those in stalemate lose. Perhaps this is a poor comparison anyway. In the end, Solidarity resembled a train heading nowhere. There was no way to stop it, and even if there was, it would only delay the inevitable. I say heading nowhere, and not--as it is often described--heading for "a bloody confrontation," because we would never agree to that--and I say this with a good knowledge of public moods. The majority of the public has been fully aware of the fact that in reality there is no room for any major upheaval.

Did Solidarity lose? Yes and no. It did lose as an organization and as a collection of individuals. It did not lose as an idea. This last assertion must be clarified. By Solidarity's idea I mean a fight for democracy, for subjectivity of the Polish society. The people wanted that and still do. My friends and I understood the targets of our union, fighting against some of the methods of government, never against socialism. I would even say we

wanted more socialism. Some might hold that if the differences rested only in the accent, why did the negotiations resemble dialogue between deaf people. In the end, of course they did, because there was too much talking going on. I see a lack of political culture and traditions as one of the causes. Political struggle--yes, this was self-evident. Provocation, slanders, leaflets, etc.--of course, but dialogue?

On the one hand, we had the authorities accustomed to addressing people from above, on the other there were the people, who thought they had to strike and demonstrate in the streets to make themselves heard, and then saw themselves depicted in the papers as "squabblers."

In addition to all that, all the national complexes were being aired, stirring up yet more emotions because there was a lack of real knowledge and too many insinuations. Recent history is a map full of blank spaces and consequently a source of secret interpretations, fragmentary information, and pre-fabricated and tendentious claims. In a society as historically touchy as ours, all this surfaces during political crises. On each occasion, we hear "the time is not right," but the right time will never come, and the blank spots can be explained away by *raison d'etat*. I think this is one of the primary components in society's political education. Going back on my assertion that Solidarity's idea won: it may sound paradoxical, but the organization had to lose, so that the idea could win. And by losing, the organization has shifted the responsibility for implementing the demands of "a justified workers' protest" onto the Government.

The authorities have to discharge this duty. I can see no other way. I prefer not to imagine what another crisis would involve. After all, it's nothing new. No one will come up with other demands for formal guarantees. The authorities are perfectly aware of this and have decided to assume this responsibility. I feel that the October elections to the Sejm are the beginning of a new chapter in our socio-political life. That's why I'm examining my conscience and trying to square accounts with the past. So much has been said about it during the meeting that you can see that I'm not the only one bothered by these problems. Since I've come here, I have had to be consistent and answer the question I put to myself:

To go or not to go to the polls? And why? I have constructed a theory for my private use, which I call "the leverage theory." First, I assumed that the authorities and society were at one and the same time synonymous and opponents. I suppose this is the first law of Hegel's dialectics (adopted and "put on its feet" by Marx). They are one because one derives from the other and are opposites because their important interests are to a substantial extent opposed. This is because both the authorities and society are heterogeneous structures and each structure, along with the interests which it shares with other structures, has its own, particularist interests.

In my opinion, the most desirable state would be one of equilibrium, when society's pressure on the authorities to satisfy its demands would be offset by the authorities' pressure on society aimed at producing desired kinds of behavior and social, economic and political attitudes (desired from the point

of view of the authorities). When there is equilibrium there is dialogue, mutual control and flow of information. Yes, but it takes two to make this theory work.

When society is passive, a greater leverage is exerted by the authorities, producing bureaucratic distortions and severing the link between the authorities and the masses. At some point this leads to an outbreak of social protest. As for excessive social pressure on the authorities, we had a chance to watch this kind of situation not long ago and know how it ended.

Is a state of equilibrium possible? Moments of political crisis excepted, the lever is usually pressed harder by the authorities. This is an outcome of the state's organizational function, among other things. In point of fact, it doesn't matter if equilibrium is possible. What matters is that we should try to reach it. These attempts constitute the process of democratization of the system. Who ought to make such attempts. Both sides, naturally, society should state its needs and expectations clearly and should be prepared to satisfy them in practice and to keep them under control. The authorities should initiate a social process of verifying these needs and, having reached public consensus about the aims and means, should lay down a legal framework for action. The authorities should.... And what if they don't want to? Who'll force them?

These questions have arisen throughout Poland's postwar history. I think that since the latest crisis the authorities have realized at long last that their greatest weakness was their...strength, which was an outcome of centralization and a hierarchical arrangement. So, to avoid the same mistakes, the authorities have to impose limits on themselves. They have to do this out of concern for their own, properly-understood interests. To me, this is a guarantee that they will take care to do this. However, how do things look today?

The August agreements expressed social expectations and articulated them with unprecedented clarity. The authorities signed these pacts. Are they carrying them out? It's impossible to give an unequivocal answer to this question, for carrying out the agreements is a long process (some of our demands had been designed as long-term ones; moreover, you have to reckon with the economic crisis). What is certain is that this process has started.

To my mind, the most important element of this process is the authorities' implementation of economic reform, which, simplified, means a transition from state ownership of the means of production to public ownership of them. This is precisely the idea underlying employees' self-management. The reform also spells decentralization, which in practice leads to organizational and economic democracy, and this is the foundation of democracy in general. Not being a Marxist myself, I accept the Marxist method of analysis. According to his theory, changes in the base entail changes in the superstructure. These changes are beneficial to us, society, for they consist of a democratization of the system of the exercise of power. When you view the reform in this way, it is clear why it encounters such obstacles. And at this point society should interfere by exerting pressure on the other end of the lever. We have

We have to support the reform; we have to implement it in practice. The framework laid down by the authorities should be used in full. We must not leave blank spots, for when these aren't filled in on time they'll start to shrink until they disappear altogether. Anyway, this holds for all of our legislation. We, citizens, have substantial rights, but don't always know how and don't always wish to use them. The affair of rents is a good example. In many cases the action taken by residents, first sporadic and later organized, resulted in reducing the rents and introduced new members to the housing cooperative authorities. But let's return to the issue which is most important at present--to elections.

Who needs elections? Elections legitimize the authorities as governing by the will of the public. In this sense primarily the authorities need elections. There being no political competition in Poland, elections mainly prove that the governed support and trust those in power. Although changes have been introduced to the electoral law (choice between candidates, the requirement of public approval), the elections are still a plebiscite. The authorities themselves are saying this aloud and rather awkwardly, through Urban's mouth, for instance: "Going to the polls is a citizen's duty." This is a slightly odd way of putting it, for I've always thought of it as being a citizen's right. I think that the authorities need proof of public support and trust mainly for foreign policy reasons, because of the state's strategic interests. That's where the conflict of interests ends and only in this context can I understand the word "duty." As for internal politics, the sole function of the elections is to choose deputies for the new parliament (the authorities are perfectly aware of the public mood anyway).

Thinking along these lines, I conclude that it's not a proof of trust that's wanted (trust belongs to the sphere of emotions and not politics), but of understanding, understanding of the authorities' situation, which in practice amounts to support. The new electoral law informs me as a citizen about the intentions and tendencies in the circles of power. These are positive tendencies. Sticking to my leverage theory, I have to make a positive answer and cast my ballot paper into the ballot box. Naturally, I am going to avail myself of my right to choose. I didn't like one of the candidates very much. If his name is still on the list, I will cross it out.

Recorded by Witold Goscinski

CSO: 2020/16

POLAND

# NEW REGULATIONS FOR POLES WORKING ABROAD

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] The official gazette MONITOR POLSKI publishes in its issue No 23 a Council of Ministers regulation which will authorize Polish citizens temporarily staying abroad to legalize their job contracts with foreign employers with Polish companies such as Polservice, Agencja Morska or Pagart. These companies are designated as supervisory agencies in the regulation, which took effect on 24 September.

The regulation applies to Poles who left Poland before 1 January 1985, with valid passports, took jobs with foreign companies in accordance with regulations binding in the given country where they are, and who still have their jobs. Anyone who fulfills these conditions, who has not violated formal conditions for going abroad legally and who has not done harm to the interests of the Polish People's Republic, can, before 31 December 1987, make application to the relevant diplomatic or consular mission for the legalization of his or her stay abroad. One condition for this is that the given mission makes a positive report on the applicant.

A deal the applicant will then sign with the mission describes the obligations on both sides, that is, on the applicant and the supervisory agency. The deal will describe the kind of job abroad, dates of beginning and termination, procedures for settling claims, the specific lump sum in zloty the supervisory agency is to pay the applicant every month, as well as the amount and manner of his payment of foreign currency to the supervisory agency. The foreign currency gained in this way will be used to finance social services and other costs arising from the Polish citizen's gainful employment abroad.

Such deals are to be valid for three years, exceptionally five years. Each side is entitled to terminate the deal. A Polish citizen who signs such a deal is entitled to various services. He or she is entitled to medical treatment during his temporary stay in Poland, as are his family dependents remaining in Poland. Also, the supervisory agency pays such a person regular lump sums in zloty. The period of work for a foreign employer is included in the given person's length-of-service record which is considered when granting employee rights, e.g. old-age or disablement pensions.

POLAND

RYSZARD BENDER: CHURCH-DEMOCRACY RELATIONSHIP SUPPORTS AUTHORITY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 28 Sep 85 pp 7, 8

[Interview with Ryszard Bender, professor of history at Lublin Catholic University and chairman of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia [KIK] by Zdzislaw Zaryczny]

[Text] Zdzislaw Zaryczny of POLITYKA interviews Ryszard Bender, professor of history at Lublin Catholic University and chairman of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia [KIK]

Question: The 19th century, which is your special field, heard Margrave Wielopolski's bitter confession: "There are times when you can do something for the Poles, but you can never do anything with the Poles." Why do you think this statement has become so famous?

Answer: You can hardly claim that it has become famous, even if it has been repeated from time to time. Aleksander Wielopolski, who takes the credit for forming a civilian Polish Government, unfortunately acted with dictatorial pride ("I'll do anything for you, but without you"). Poles have never liked such methods of government. They are too egalitarian.

This tradition dates back not just to the 19th century, but to earlier centuries, when Poland was ruled by the nobility. It was an epoch of democracy, democracy for only one class, but nevertheless a very extensive democracy compared with other countries of Europe at that time. Poles have always wanted their rulers to talk to them, to seek their approval. When they are as aware of their rights as their duties, they can control themselves, stand shoulder to shoulder and think and act in a disciplined manner.

Question: So Wielkopolski's words should be interpreted as a politician's confession of helplessness?

Answer: Yes, of course. Whoever wants to govern without regard for social aspirations, even if they are idealized aspirations, as has often been the case in Polish history, whoever fails to appreciate the Polish tradition of liberty will sooner or later have to admit his helplessness.

Question: In Poland the tradition of liberty is connected with the nobility's tradition and the closely related Catholic tradition. In Western Europe the



tradition of liberty rests on an educated middle class and on Protestantism. The two traditions present somewhat different understandings of the scope of freedom and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. I suppose it isn't a matter of coincidence that many contemporary states with stable democratic systems are rooted in the middle class and Protestant tradition?

Answer: Yes, that's indeed what it looks like, from a historical distance. It's true that we've never had a strong and wealthy middle class. We have always been an agrarian society and when the middle class started to grow, the state collapsed. It should also be remembered that a substantial part of the Polish middle class was of foreign, mostly German, descent (interestingly, these people rapidly grew assimilated and took part in the political life of the country). However, an agrarian culture predominated. This is also visible in the territorial structure of the Church.

The Polish Church has always been together with the nation, in all situations, including uprisings. Let me just mention the name of one priest in the vanguard of an uprising--Fr. Karol Mikoszewski, the famous editor of SYXTUS; it was in his apartment in the rectory of St Alexander's in Warsaw that the decision was made to start the January 1863 uprising. Another hero of this uprising was Rafal Kalinowski, head of the Department of War in Lithuania and later a monk, whom Pope John Paul II beatified during his second pilgrimage to Poland. There have been many more such individuals.

It would be particularly interesting to study the nobles' democracy before the Partitions in the aspect of institutional links between the state and the Church. At the time democracy was very well developed, in many cases it was direct democracy, but unfortunately with all cases it was direct democracy, but unfortunately with all the shortcomings of direct democracy, royal elections for instance. At times it would turn into mob rule. All this was happening at a time when the Church was very important and influential. The fact that, having close institutional links with the state institutions (for instance, when a chancellor was a lay person, his deputy would be a clergyman), the Church was genuinely interested in the growth of the state undermines the claim that only Protestant countries can develop stable democracies. Poland certainly provides proof that things could have taken a different turn.

Question: But how have these facts contributed to the development of democratic thought in Poland?

Answer: All generalizations are dangerous. There must no doubt be something in the fact that more monarchies have survived in the Protestant countries. This may mean that democracy doesn't have to undermine the institutions of the state, even if it's a monarchy, which of course is the antithesis of democracy.

Question: But going back to the Polish realities....

Answer: I'm not a historian of the system and wouldn't like to make oversimplifications, but in the 19th century Catholic Poland was considered a

country of ardent democrats. Every freedom and democratic movement--from Christian Democrats to Communists and even anarchists--had Poles in it; Marx and Engels, Garibaldi, Victor Hugo and many other politicians and thinkers of that epoch very carefully analyzed the fate of the Polish uprisings.

Question: But although we had inspired many people in Europe, Polish democrats couldn't create solid foundations for democracy in their own recovered state. Why were they so weak?

Answer: It seems to me that the inconsistencies of the Protestant countries, for instance the fact that monarchies weren't torn down, were at the same time these countries' strength. The democratic evolution of these countries took place within the existing structures, which were merely transformed over the centuries.

When Poland regained independence after 123 years under the Partitions, there was nothing to transform. There were no structures of the state to be filled with democratic contents. They had to be created from scratch. It is no wonder, then, that the newly installed democratic system, with its immaturity and lack of people of generally recognized prestige to stand at the helm, was susceptible to various kinds of distortions.

Question: I suppose that it was the prolonged nonexistence of the Polish state which produced the consequence-laden division of national patriotism and state patriotism, which is best reflected in the common phrase: "Governments come and go but the nation remains."

Answer: The reconstruction of a new modern democratic state had not been properly prepared conceptually. To the Poles, to the democratic movement, this new state wasn't anything concrete. They didn't know whether there should be a preponderance of legislative or executive power. The dispute continued when after the May 1926 coup the executive apparatus became substantially stronger, so much in fact that it made society oppose the state to a far greater extent than had been the case before. While the country was being ruled by the Sejm in the early 1920's, society's bond with the new state was much stronger.

Starting from 1926, the opposition began to grow and became very strong. Society's forces were not used in building the state; the masses did not shape the country's political and economic situation. On the contrary, since the democratic ideals and aspirations were being stifled, the destructive trends were growing. The saying "you can sometimes do something for Poles, but never anything with Poles" was echoed.

Despite this, people understood the *raison d'etat*, even of an imperfect state and the state appreciated the need to use the work of those people who perhaps didn't grant it unqualified support, but wanted to be active in some spheres of public life. The state, or its leaders to be precise, shouldn't cocoon themselves in the conviction that they're perfect and able to satisfy the public needs in full. The state should appreciate those social groups and movements which don't want to confine themselves to criticism, but would

like to contribute to improving the state, for they think that this state is their own. My examples here would be Wojciech Korfanty and Wincenty Witos.

Question: The opinion has now become established that the level of democracy is linked to the level of the country's development--its economic and intellectual potential, finances, the administration of justice and, above all, the parliamentary tradition.

Answer: Yes, indeed, we would not be mistaken in assuming that the better the state structure the more developed its democracy. However, there's one condition.

Question: What is it?

Answer: That the public, too, should consider this structure superior. And that is the case when the public is able to participate in shaping the state. Our political experience, too, has confirmed the rule that the greater the democracy the faster the development of the state; and the faster the development of the state the greater the scope for democracy.

This may be seen from what happened in Poland in October 1956. Although at that time not so much democracy as a hope of democracy came into existence, the new state structures became very popular despite the fact that they were led by people who couldn't count their followers in millions.

Question: But in Poland there's usually been more talk of freedom and ideals than of what the parliament should be like and how the voting should be conducted....

Answer: Acquiring a modern, or rather seemingly modern, understanding of democracy at the turn of the century, Poles had to look for examples away from home. Where? In Western Europe. They looked up to France, Britain and Italy, trying to see how democracy manifested itself there. They perceived a struggle for rights, though not everybody noticed that it was a struggle against governments, and not against state structures.

It is in this light that we should view some of our politicians who professed themselves the leading democrats of the state which came into existence again on 11 November, 1918. Trying to appear modern, they often attempted to win democratic freedoms by fighting against the state.

Question: At that time the weakness of the state and the lack of experience of its leaders were certainly an excuse. But now after forty years of building a socialist state, the circumstances of the development of democracy are different.

Answer: You don't remember it, but right after the war the word "democrat" was controversial--some people understood its meaning as positive, and others, as negative. There were even instances of people who had been called democrats bringing court action.

Question: ???

Answer: Yes, yes! Fortunately now this term seems to have recovered its splendor and has become a bridge which brings people together. It's important that at one time the word "democratic" was used to denote just one group, while now it has become the attribute of many groups.

I think that modern democracy under the Polish conditions should mean that society has broad opportunities for articulating its views and sharing in the decision-making through various state institutions and, when this is difficult, to communicate information, opinions and proposals to these institutions. Those in power should grant society this right, but society itself should try to get it, too.

Question: Now and again one gains the impression that some people are waiting for a "strong man," to put in order the matters of the state--those less important as well as those very important. People expect various things, but these expectations clash with the demands for a greater scope of democracy which they voice in the same breath.

Answer: I don't know what the scope of these expectations is. But it's quite possible that some people may think that a hard line is what we need. This kind of political bonapartism may be tempting.

Question: How do you interpret this?

Answer: We should put this question not to politicians or historians, but social psychologists. I think that people are simply impatient, want to solve problems fast, reach a higher level of development, and skip some stages and epochs. I think that the Poles have too much of this kind of ambition, but this trait, too, can be explained by their history.

So many years have passed since the war and the economic situation is still abnormal and unstable; we cannot expect to restore the living standards of 1978 before the close of the decade; can this possibly give rise to enthusiasm and encourage people to work? I doubt it.

Question: Impatience certainly doesn't encourage democracy. One element of democracy is the time-consuming technique of negotiation. We're learning this technique slowly and with a lot of effort, public consultations for instance those concerning versions of the National Socio-Economic Plan are an illustration of this.

Answer: What else do you expect? The knowledge of this technique, whether it is applied to public opinion surveys or the Sejm voting procedure, is not just a problem of good intention. It takes time and practice, to strengthen the confidence that jointly negotiated decisions are important and lasting and will allow people to give up their suspicions of manipulations, pressures and pretended consultations (one of these tricks consists of using the word "everybody," which in practice means "no one").

We're not going to learn all this so fast. There are various transmissions of democratic aspirations. There are various groups with a smaller or larger

range of influence, which could add credibility to the decision-making processes by participating in them.

Besides, please don't forget that a vast part of our society is passive. They want democracy, but they don't know how to put it into existence, how could they know this? Anyway, what many people, to whom democracy is too abstract a concept, want is not so much democracy but to be heard and to have their problems settled.

It takes patience to learn democracy, which also has to be taken great care of. This applies not only to those who govern, but also to the governed.

Question: But it should be democracy with a face. People of prestige and popular orators are needed....

Answer: In developed democracies, political leaders enjoy this kind of prestige. You're right that the orators who can induce certain beliefs or actions in the masses also have an important role to play.

Question: Do you think that ours are good times for such orators?

Answer: Yes, they are. Only it's a pity that there aren't too many people in Poland who could speak openly and on an extensive range of subjects, who wouldn't be tied by various so-called political and geographical considerations and objective problems. This has been clear during the pre-election meetings, during which the atmosphere has often been lukewarm and only subjects of local importance have been raised. But problems don't go away simply by not talking about them.

The fact that there are few people who raise unpopular problems in a straightforward manner places a greater responsibility on intellectuals and artists, who use a language of generalizations and metaphors founded on deep erudition and objective reflection.

Question: Intellectuals are even called "guardians of values."

Answer: Perhaps that's what they are here. The situation in other countries is different. Just look at France or China.

This position of intellectuals, which is sometimes related to excessive expectations, is a specifically Polish trait, maybe it is also Russian as well or maybe it is common to all Slavs.

The intellectual elite of Poland has always had and will continue to have a great role to play. One of its tasks is to explain that democracy is some kind of result of our dreams, needs and the realities. The moral prestige of this elite has been traditionally high. Despite various storms, this prestige hasn't fallen to this day. Naturally, membership of the elite isn't automatic or constant. A person's personality and not his or her status is the decisive factor. Strangely enough (?), the public is generally capable of accurately evaluating an intellectual's prestige; the criteria are independence of opinion, consistency and simple honesty.

Question: Honesty, independence of opinion--that's too little. What matters in democracy is efficiency.

Answer: I, too, would like intellectuals not only to speak to the masses and interpret democratic actions, but also to constantly demand such actions from those in power.

Question: How are we going to conclude our reflections and comparisons?

Answer: You started from Wielopolski, so I'm going to paraphrase his saying: one can do anything with the Poles, only one should want and know how to talk to them.

Question: Do anything? With everyone? Democracy for all people?

Answer: At least most people. You can't always please everyone. So let's be realists, don't let's ask too much. There's plenty to be won anyway.

CSO: 2020/16

POLAND

BARCIKOWSKI COMMENTS ON CHANGES, WORK OF SEJM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Aug 85 pp 3,5

[Text] Only several dozen days are left before the 8th Session of the Sejm comes to an end. This has taken place in an unusual period in the history of our state. It has left many experiences and legal achievements which changed almost all avenues of life of the Poles. Journalists for RZECZPOSPOLITA discuss the 8th Session with deputy Kazimierz Barcikowski, leader of the Deputies' Club of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR).

[Question] Don't you think that the characteristics of the accomplishments of the Sejm's 8th Session began to be evident in August, 1980? For it seems that in the several months that have passed since the beginning of the Session, no specific new features have come into parliamentary practice.

[Answer] I completely disagree. After all, in your question I find the generally encountered tendency of today to treat the period before August with considerable distance, almost as pre-history. Meanwhile, it is a fact that the Sejm was different at that time compared to the present; but I protest against describing it as unimportant and irrelevant for the future. For, above all, already in the Sejm there clearly began an awareness of the economic crisis. I repeat: an awareness that the state's economy was in a critical state.

A conviction of the necessity of essential changes in the economic system and conduct of power also slowly began to appear. And it wasn't only lobbying discussions. If we were to carefully examine the Sejm documents from that period, transcripts from committee meetings, or plenary sessions, we would find many facts testifying to frequent, broad, and open statements. Of course we still did not speak of economic reform at that time; we were not aware of the solutions accepted in the following years were already conceived in the Sejm before August.

[Question] But you probably agree that, even for outside observers, the factual, deep and clear change in the activities of the Sejm was connected with the turning point in August, 1980, which indirectly is an example that strong changes in society influence representative bodies.

[Answer] One may say that. The events of August--mass strikes, demonstrations of social discontent and frustration--found their reflection in the Sejm. It was then that we fully realized the depth of the crisis which touched our nation



in all aspects of life. . . In general, the period from August to December is an unusually deep and difficult problem. . . So much has already been said and written about it!

As for the Sejm, it committed itself very deeply to the process of accomplishing the August agreements. The Sejm also stood as a forum for the exchange of various, often opposing views and opinions, being a de facto reflection of the state in which our society found itself. In those discussions, through sharp and open polemics we sought compromise, striving for national understanding. In seeking the way of understanding, words of warning, summonses, appeals and decrees fell from the tribunal of the Sejm. Simultaneously, we saw how our endeavors broke against the wall of misunderstanding, disinclination, speaking frankly: bad will which was created by the extreme "Solidarity."

More and more often, also, we met with attempts to interfere in the work of the Sejm and of particular deputies. In the country there occurred near interrogations of deputies, placing on them moreal and social pressure. They were being falsely blamed for things and forced to act according to instructions from the local cells of "Solidarity." All of this caused the deputies to think more and more often that taking drastic measures was necessary to stop this dangerous development of events. I myself at that time had many discussions with the deputies, and also non-party members, who emphasized their independence, who with deep concern talked about what was happening in the country, that drastic steps were necessary to prevent anarchy and decomposition of the state. And that is why, when the decision about extreme measures was made, the Sejm confirmed the correctness of such action and supported the decrees of the State Council (RP).

[Question] If we carefully analyze the stormy period of 1980-1981, it may be possible to perceive certain specific phenomena on the state-institutional place. There appeared the general crisis of almost all institutional authorities, when had their source in the broadly understood state power. There was a ruthless attack on the party, government, the functional agenda of the government. In this context, the Sejm was treated somewhat more delicately. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the Sejm's authority at that time relatively increased. . .

[Answer] It is very difficult for me to assume that. . . It is possible that at the beginning, such an approach took place. But we must take under account that the year of 1980-1981 was a social and political process, having its beginning and internal development. And if we speak about what was at the beginning of the road, we should not forget how the views in this matter evolved. After all, in the autumn of 1981, "Solidarity" already formulated the slogan of announcing new elections to the Sejm. The inevitable impression is that the Sejm was treated by "Solidarity" as an instrument. There was an attempt to use it for its own political purposes. It ended when the idea of an assault against the authorities began to dominate in "Solidarity." But I have no doubt, however, that in those years the Sejm was the "keystone of the state."

And as a sidenote. You referred in the question to the fall of institutional authority. But were there retained any kind of personal authorities? Consequently that situation in Poland, besides the liberation of impulsiveness and of extremists, was also characterized by the fall of authorities, which later had to be rebuilt with great efforts.

[Question] It seems that the Sejm in that regard had a very difficult task, although relatively easier than other institutions. On the other hand, the principal task of providing the legal framework to the process of reform and renewal, in agreement with social postulates, rested in the Sejm at the time of renewal and, at the same time, the Sejm firmly promoted the policy of national understanding.

[Answer] Yes, but with one reservation. It is a matter of not by accident eliminating the Sejm from the whole political context of our state. After all, parliament is not a collection of independent individuals acting for themselves and on their own responsibility. In the first place, it is a forum for realizing the political line which, in a socialist state, means the line of the party of the working class. Also, in Polish conditions, the political-ideological inspiration for the activities of the Sejm came from the Party.

Let me recollect the resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1980, which unequivocally proclaimed itself in favor of the need to undertake activities which would secure for the Sejm the conditions for the full realization of its constitutional functions, and therefore its governmental, legislative, and supervisory powers. At that time, also, what next was confirmed in the resolutions of the 9th Congress, the Central Committee stated that the Party's policy would be realized above all through the intermediary of the representative organs. If we carry these statements into practice, which in this regard took place in the past, it is clearly showing that the Sejm's position underwent a radical change. The Sejm, quite simply, ceased to be the only realizer of policies, and also became its co-creator.

[Question] What found a meaningful reflection especially in the constitutional legislature, in the first place in the changes in the Constitution. . .

[Answer] There were several changes in the Constitution. The first, in October 1980, concerned subordination of the Chief Board of Supervision (NIK) to the Sejm. Then, the next change in March 1982, was connected with the establishment on the Constitutional Tribunal and the State Tribunal. On July 20th of the same year, the Sejm introduced into the Constitution a defined role and function of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), and also, which in my opinion is the most important, two amendments stressing the class character of the state through indicating the working class as the leader of change in the life of the state and society in alliance with the peasants. It also defined the place and role of peasant family farms in our political system and the legal forms of security in the face of internal threats.

These were, therefore, changes which had considerable justification and resulted immediately from socio-political changes and from the process of deepening democracy in the state. The Constitution, as in the past, remained a stable

legal Act of the highest rank which would accurately define the goals and forms of state activities. The Sejm in the course of the entire 8th Session tried to promote the Constitution to the highest rank and defend it from frequent and hasty changes. It was, after all, in agreement with social demands, which clearly emphasized during the last social consultation of the foundation of the Electoral Law proposals, when the participants of discussions recognized the inviolability of the Constitution as its primary objective.

[Question] The Sejm of the 8th Session has already passed over 190 statutes. It was a necessity resulting from realizing the process of reforms, but we can find the opinion that is passed too many statutes...

[Answer] With certainty, the legislative activity of the Sejm did not result from the desire to beat the record in the number of legislated statutes. It was, quite simply, a social and political necessity. It was not possible to realize the party line, the line of understanding, reform and renewal, not creating for it a proper legal cover. After all, the new statutes were needed for economic reform, the system of state security, and the system of taxation-- here I enumerate only some spheres connected with the economy in the broadest sense. And the realization of the principle of democracy? It also required new legal regulations concerning the national councils and self-government of citizens and, in general, it needed to furnish personnel of enterprises, union groups, with the rights of self-government. We also cannot forget about the legal Acts simply seeking national reconciliation and therefore, among other things, the amnesty statutes, the statutes defending society from pathological phenomena, and also from a return to the practices before August 1980 and December 1981.

What I've enumerated is only a fragment of the enormous legislative needs which the Sejm had to satisfy. If, therefore, we peacefully analyze the legislative accomplishments of the Sejm, then we certainly affirm that without a new law it would be hard for us to function, that it became indispensable for us.

[Question] Does it mean that the Sejm and deputies are completely satisfied with their accomplishments? After all, many legal Acts had to be amended, sometimes radically changed. . .

[Answer] We are far from self-complacent. We fully understand that in legislative activity there is still much to be done. The Sejm's next Session will do it. As for amendments, however, in my opinion it would be a natural thing and it would be good to treat it like this. For instance, in economic matters the legal solutions must fit specific requirements of the initiation of reform. In other words, if the law has gaps impeding the economy, these gaps must be filled. It happens that the statutes are misused isolators. Then it is necessary to change them in consideration of the vital interests of the socialist state. These matters are probably fully understood and accepted in the parliamentary practice of all states in the world.

[Question] One has an impression that the Sejm was so absorbed with establishing necessary laws, that it didn't have time for one of its principal functions-- the function of control.

[Answer] You formed that question in a very Polish manner. Well!--if we achieved so much in one area, why so much less in another? But, speaking seriously, taking into account only one factor--the balance of time--I would say that the Sejm did all that was physically possible. The Sejm, after all, only passed laws which, however, must be activated by other state organs. The question arises: what, therefore, is the Sejm to control? In my opinion, it ought to concentrate on great matters. I am thinking here about the control of accomplishing the plan, the budget, the achievement of economic reform, and public order. Other lesser matters, however, can pass through the work of the Sejm, but cannot dominate it. The second matter is how to control. Let's not fool ourselves. Neither deputies alone, nor the Sejm as a whole, can substitute that professional control. The deputies always will be operating from a weaker position in regard to controls. But we must not forget that the Sejm possesses a powerful arm for control, the Chief Board of Supervision (NIK). We also should not forget about the control function of the deputies' interpellations and questions, which already have been submitted about 800 times.

If we gather these facts together and add the work of the voivodship deputy groups, deputy visits, etc., we will receive an entirely impressive amount of control activities. But all this does not mean that, with the realization of the Sejm's control function, everything is in the best order. The deputies are fully aware of that. Perhaps, in a future Session, the Sejm will be able to manage that problem--all the more so since we should expect relatively fewer legislative obligations.

[Question] One of the essential factors characterizing the parliament's position is its relationship with the government. How may one evaluate the 8th Session in this regard?

[Answer] In this passing Session, the Sejm began, quite simply, to realize all of its prerogatives, including those towards the government. I can give an example, for instance, that before someone is appointed to the post of a minister, there is a special "hearing" before the Sejm's Committee. The conditions were also established which would enable the Sejm to have time to analyze the government's statute proposals. In consequence of exceptions, there were cases in which the government's proposals were not amended or changed by commissions.

But it is necessary to realize that the Sejm's relationship with the government is very delicate and difficult. This results from the scope and responsibility and competence. It thus occurred that I had the opportunity of participating in the Sejm's work as a minister and chief of the Club, and also as an ordinary deputy. And I know how hard it is for a minister to go to the Sejm, to answer questions, to be sharply attacked. His blood boils that he does not succeed, that there is a lack of means, defective execution, etc. And in such a situation the possibility exists of revealing controversy and, I believe, that it will be so in the future. It would be good if we stopped treating such controversies as sensational events--but, rather, as a normal phenomenon which must appear in such complicated matters.

[Question] And maybe the Sejm, as one sometimes hears, was given too much power. . . .

[Answer] In Poland, we have a unitary system of government and the Sejm is a component part. But I would not assume such an attitude. I would say, instead, that it is important how the Sejm perceives the boundary between that which is general, concerning certain norms of procedures, and what is particular--the function of direction and administration, in realizing those general norms. It seems to me that there is much disagreement in this matter because everybody would like to govern directly. We lack patience to recognize the right of others to make decisions. This disinclination reveals itself in various fields --for instance, in the economy. It happens that statutes are too particular. But it is by no means only the Sejm's fault. Perhaps only in this sense, that the Sejm does not spend enough energy to eliminate too particular solutions from the proposals. But, after all, the Sejm receives these proposals. I feel a certain amount of opportunism behind the authors' inclination for detailed statutes and pigeon-holing everything, and that shouldn't be so. In the Sejm itself there is an inclination to govern directly and it is necessary to fight that.

[Question] To sum up our conversation, how can one define the principal political achievements of the Sejm in this crucial time which fell during its Session?

[Answer] In accordance with the resolutions of the 9th Congress, our task was to defend socialism and it was defended with the Sejm's outstanding participation. Secondly, we had to create the foundations for reforms and democratization of life in the state and these were voted by the Sejm. Thirdly, finally, the Congress emphasized that these achievements should be in agreement with the ideals of socialism and they are completely in agreement with them. That is the legacy left by the Sejm's 8th Session. How that will be used up, depends now on the new Sejm and the entire nation. We enter the period of less spectacular moves and solutions. Those which we accepted we will realize by learning how to use these new moves. On that we ought to concentrate all strength and, what is important, teach ourselves to rejoice daily, for democracy as a fact and postulate for the future should find a lasting place.

Interviewers: Jerzy Wierzycholski  
Krzysztof Mikolajczyk

12853  
CSO: 2600/1022

POLAND

## PZPR ROLE NOTED IN PRE-ELECTION, SOCIOCULTURAL ACTIVITIES

### Party Educational Committees Confer

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] On 12 September, deliberations of the first secretaries of PZPR school committees were conducted. During the course of the deliberations, that were chaired by Prof Henryk Bednarski, PZPR KC [Central Committee] secretary, director of the KC Science and Education Department Prof Bronislaw Ratus discussed the tasks of educational party organizations during the 1985/1986 academic year and Deputy Minister Prof Stanislaw Nowacki gave a report on the current work of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

It was determined that the current academic year is opening under considerably improved circumstances in higher education thanks to the efforts of the authorities, academic teachers, the party aktiv of educational institutions and the union and youth aktivs. The task of school party organizations is to work consistently to utilize in full the new operating conditions of higher schools to activate the entire academic community towards increasing the role of higher schools in Polish life.

Likewise, the role of the party academic community in preparing for the KC plenary meeting devoted to improving the system of national education and in preparing for the Third Congress of Polish Science was stressed.

### Korean, Polish Theoretical Organs Meet

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 6

[Text] At the invitation of the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI, from 5 to 13 September a delegation of the theoretical-political organ of the Korean Labor Party KYLLODZA visited Poland along with editor-in-chief Kim Jon Haka.

Talks were held with the editor-in-chief of NOWE DROGI, St[anislaw] Wronski, on the continued development of cooperation between the two editorial staffs.

At meetings of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] and provincial party echelons in Warsaw, Wroclaw and Jelenia Gora, the Korean delegation was informed on the party's ideological and economic work.

4 November 1985

The guests held talks with J. Majka, director of the PZPR KC Information Department and with Fr. Kubiczek, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission.

The members of the delegation familiarized their hosts with the achievements of the building of socialism in the KRLD [Korean People's Democratic Republic] and with state and party policy regarding the peaceful unification of Korea, extending thanks for the Polish people's consistent support of this policy.

The delegation was received by M. Wozniak, Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee and by J. Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and PZPR KC secretary.

KRLD Ambassador O Man Sok participated in the meetings.

#### Party Training Marked in Lodz, Bydgoszcz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] Lodz

In the Defenders of Peace ZPB [Cotton Industry Association], the largest cotton processing plant in Poland, on 13 September the new year of party training was inaugurated in Lodz. This year's program envisages continuing political-educational work through schools of the worker's aktiv, the open ideological meeting and seminars encompassing both party and nonparty members. The body of lecturers and training organizers has expanded considerably in the Lodz Province. This year, nearly 2,500 lecturers, or over 700 more than last year, were added.

Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR KC [Central Committee] secretary, participated in the opening of the new year. He alluded to the current status of political life in Poland. He said that September always was the traditional month for renewing the political season following the vacation break, but that this year and this year in particular, there are no vacations in political life.

The inauguration of the current training year is an important element in the unbroken chain of ongoing, intensive work in party elements. In the first phase of the Sejm electoral campaign, large masses of party members demonstrated their activism, their organizational efficiency and, above all, their ability to think in political categories. If we are able to say that the first phase of the electoral campaign has succeeded (and this is confirmed by public opinion polls that show a steady growth of interest in the elections), it is to the credit of the aktiv and the many thousands of rank-and-file party members. During this phase of preparations for the elections, they passed through another stage in their practical political training and, as Jan Glowczyk said, if we retain the training terminology, there is yet



another month before the exam. They will take this exam before the entire society and in the eyes of the entire world. Our success in relating the initial training sessions to the tasks and duties of party members in this campaign will be of crucial significance to the outcome of this exam; the extent to which we reinforce the knowledge of our comrades to aid them in discussions with nonparty members on the socialist democracy is vital.

Next The KC secretary discussed the future tasks of party members, especially those related to the party campaign preceding the 10th PZPR Congress. In this area, the party training system also plays an extremely important role. Training sessions should lay the theoretical foundations for active participation in the pre-congress discussion and also should constitute a suitable forum for such discussion.

The KC secretary extended wishes to all party training organizers and lecturers for continued success in their work.

#### The Armed Forces

On 13 September the ceremonial inauguration of the new party training year in the PRL armed forces took place under the slogan "Marxism-Leninism as a source of the strength and ideological-moral cohesiveness of the people's Polish Army" at the headquarters of the Pomeranian Military District in Bydgoszcz.

Party training performs a primary role in the system of ideological-upbringing work conducted in the military. The military party aktiv that participates in this system has the possibility of deepening the theoretical foundations of the party's program and policy, as well as becoming thoroughly familiar with and mastering this program and policy. Through the use of this knowledge, that is supplemented continually, it is able to involve itself better and more effectively in direct ideological-training work with soldiers, increasing its results.

A group of distinguished party training organizers and lecturers was honored with commemorative medals "For spreading the ideology of Marxism-Leninism." These were received by Reserve Col Mieczyslaw Poczety, Lt Col Edward Romanowski, Lt Col Zbigniew Talaga and Maj Mieczyslaw Jedrachowicz. The editorial staff of the air force weekly WIRAZE was honored collectively with this medal. WP [Polish Army] GZP [Main Political Directorate] chief awards and certificates were awarded to: Edward Kozanowski, Jozef Szymanski, Jaroslaw Kobak and Andrzej Niemczewski, Bogdan Banasiak, Mieczyslaw Gwiazdowski, Stanislaw Paterczyk and Stanislaw Walusiak.

During the inauguration ceremonies, Gen of Arms Jozef Baryla, deputy minister of national defense, chief of the WP GZP, discussed crucial directions and major ideological-training tasks during the new party training year in the armed forces.

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] At a primary party organization meeting of the ENERGOBUD Power Industry and Export Construction Implementation Enterprise, in which PZPR KC [Central Committee] Politburo member Albin Siwak participated, there was discussion on strengthening the party's role in Poland's sociopolitical life and on increasing the activism of PZPR members.

Giving examples from their own "bailiwick," those assembled focused much attention on the waste that exists on many construction projects. The faulty financing system that does not always reward the best workers was cited as one of the factors impacting employment shortages in socialized housing construction enterprises.

#### Party Cultural Dissemination Group Meets

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] The PZPR KC [Central Committee] Culture Department's Team for Disseminating Culture analyzed the current situation of the system for education of the cultural-educational cadre and the directions for improving this system. The need was indicated for the closer cooperation of the ministries of culture, education and higher education for the purpose of working more actively to professionally prepare cultural dissemination workers. The materials adopted by the team were submitted for deliberation to the PZPR KC Cultural Commission.

Kazimierz Molek, deputy director of the PZPR KC Culture Department, took part in the meeting.

#### Meeting Urges Larger Youth Role

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Alicja Zagorska]

[Text] (Own Information) On 19 September 1985, members of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Representative Bodies and Self-management Commission met at a field meeting held in Bialystok. An assessment was made of the work of young councilmen on provincial people's councils, with special consideration being given to councilmen associated in youth organizations and party members.

The deliberations of the commission were preceded by 18 September meetings with young councilmen in Bialystok, Hajnowka, Bielsk Podlaski and Siemiatycze. A group of the party aktiv interested in this issue also took part in the deliberations. KC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, Politburo candidate member, led the deliberations.

The discussion centered around new methods and forms of party inspiration that would enable increasing the activism of councilmen and the role of youth in representative bodies. Throughout Poland, 14,000 young people are active on councils at all levels. It was learned in the discussion that the youth organizations that appoint their members to the councils are not always aware of the opportunities the young councilmen represent for them. Interest in certain union elements by councilmen, said Jan Maslowski, chairman of the Young Councilman Team in Bialystok, ended at the elections stage. At the same time, young people are especially aware of the need for closer ties with their organizations.

The system of training councilmen is limited in practice to formal familiarization with legal documents. Meanwhile, they do not learn how to answer the hard questions of voters. Kazimierz Pawlowski from Gorzow shared his reflections on the work of the young councilmen of this province.

Tadeusz Trojanowski from Lapy posed the question: What must be done to maintain this high-level activism of councilmen? They ought to find support in their own organizations and in the party.

The 15 months of the operation of the people's councils has given meaning to the coming elections to the Sejm. Those assembled proposed that the young councilmen take part in the meetings with voters along with the deputy candidates. This would be for them a good lesson in social activism.

Materials from the commission's deliberations will be stated in the form of a position paper and this will be sent to party echelons and people's councils for use in their work.

#### Stronger Central Control Urged

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Izabella Wajszczuk]

[Text] (Own Information) "The congress made review commissions co-responsible for the effective actions of all party elements. In order to study and assess the effectiveness of the work of others, one first must be concerned over the effectiveness of his own work." This quote from the report of the CKR [Central Review Commission] Presidium succinctly sums up the direction of the discussions and the atmosphere of the deliberations of WKR [Provincial Review Commission] chairmen that was held on 23 September in Warsaw. The deliberations were chaired by CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski.

The meeting was of a working nature. This was expressed in the three assessments, prepared from various viewpoints, that were presented to participants in the deliberations on behalf of the CKR Presidium.

Waclaw Skoczylas, deputy chairman of the CKR, said that we are living in a period in which increasing attention in all of social and economic life is being given to rational operation and effective action. This mode of thinking

and acting that the economic reform has imposed upon us transfers naturally to political life, including the work of the party.

Based on the 4 years of work, observation and analysis of the workings of party activity, and especially on the thousands of checks made by the CKR and lower level elements, it has become possible to point out barriers to effective party work. The most important of these are: the sometimes imprecise criteria used to assess the activism of party members, the quality of the flow of information and educational work, daily formal and substantive discipline and the lack of consistency in implementing resolutions and decisions. The elimination of these barriers would strengthen the positive processes taking place in the party.

W. Skoczylas also said that the checks that have been made show that there are still party organizations and echelons, particularly at the primary level, that have not managed to adapt their work style to the needs of the day, to the present conditions of party work. In other words, every party member and every organization should be aware of his place and every party member and organization should implement his own tasks, not waiting at every turn for guidelines, instructions and individual orders.

During the deliberations, precise and extensive assessments were presented of the work of WKR's in the first half of this year and plans were submitted for WKR work in the second half of the year. The first assessment, presented by Comrade J. Oleksy, showed that the WKR's worked intensively, demonstrating a good grasp of the most important issues for their respective provinces. However, not all WKR's work at the same level of intensity. There also are those that remain in the background in their areas, that do not show enough initiative and that procrastinate in making checks.

A factual and critical tone also predominated during the discussion. The most important party business was discussed in the context of the coming 10th Congress. One of the first discussants raised the issue of small organizations and their equally slight activism. Those that followed made reference to this statement. Each of the WKR chairmen cited examples showing that there is no lack of declarations and assurances showing that the difficult situation of small POP's [Primary Party Organizations] is understood, but that there is always too little real help and support.

Taking the floor at the end of the discussion, CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski noted that review commissions never acted exclusively as critical observers of other party elements, but they always have tried to take a hard and critical look at their own actions. It is important to point out weaknesses and obstacles, but it is not enough, he said, merely to point out and note difficulties; help must be provided to overcome them.

Effective Party Training Stressed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The inauguration of the 1985/1986 party training year is taking place in the various provinces. Most recently these ceremonies were held in Katowice, Siedlce, Slupsk and in the Frontier Guard Command. Jerzy Romanik, PZPR KC [Central Committee] Politburo member, SIEMIANOWICE Mine mineworker, participated in the Katowice inaugural events.

The party training program for 1985/1986 stresses training quality and effectiveness. The purpose of political-training work and political education is the dissemination of the program of socialist renewal.

8536

CSO: 2600/32

POLAND

## COMMENTARIES ON LABOR FORCE, ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

### Existence of 'Hidden Unemployed' Noted

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Julian Gordon: "A Word on Consistency"]

[Text] More than three years ago, General W. Jaruzelski said these memorable words: "Figuratively speaking, we can say that we have two Polands -- a Poland of good, hard work, order and discipline and one of sloppiness, idleness and poor discipline". The fact that the other Poland dragging us down makes it hard for us to get out of our serious economic difficulties is not argued by thoughtful and concerned people everywhere. But how can we act against this? How can we make the loafers, wasters and malingerers do good work?

This problem was brought out in discussions at the TRYBUNA LUDU clubs at the L. Warynski Plant and in Kiedrzyn and in numerous letters sent to this newspaper (see the article "About work" in the 24 July issue of TRYBUNA LUDU). Some of those participating in the discussion suggested that it would be good thing if there were a small degree of unemployment that would force this other Poland to respect work.

While it is commonly said that the average Pole abroad works harder than he does in his own country, this is only because he earns more, work is better organized and that he knows very well that if he does not work hard, he will be immediately thrown out of his job: there are several unemployed persons waiting for his position and no trade union, even a communist-led one, will defend do-nothings and wasteful workers.

### On Prescriptions, Life and Practice

We would have many that we could lay off because Poland has hidden unemployment. It is not so much a matter a just the do-nothings but also of the workers that just do not have anything to do. This is due to the poor structure of employment, the lack of a sufficient number of workers employed

directly in production, especially in heavy labor, and an excess of employees in the apparatus of state administration.

It seems that this is a form of hidden unemployment and is economically or socially no worse than overt unemployment because such open unemployment demoralizes the unemployed while hidden unemployment demoralizes honest workers who may feel that they have no reason to "knock themselves out working" if the person next to them is not doing anything or works poorly and receives the same wages.

Andrzej Leszczynski, a writer for TRYBUNA LUDU, is not alone in seeing that there is a radical cure for this: earn like you work. People have spoke about this for years but this talk has not gone anywhere. This year, the situation even seems to have gotten worse.

In the first half of this year, production rose by two percent while average wages went up 19 percent. It is quite curious that wages went up to disproportionately high levels not only where production and output increased but also in those industries and firms where it actually fell.

Appearing at the discussion club in Kiedrzyn, Director E. Plichcinski of the State Planning Commission said that "...there is practically no firm in Poland that would dock workers of their pay for turning out faulty products or apply any sanctions for quitting a job".

Therefore, the proper legal provisions are not being observed everywhere. What is the remedy?

Sermons or Economic Mechanisms?

Sermons? Practice has shown how little effective it is. Last year, the Polish Church called on the faithful to practice constraint in the drinking of alcohol and the result was that the most Catholic nation of Europe therefore consumed one million liters more in August than in July.

Economic mechanisms? For many years, it has been proposed that excess employees be relieved of their jobs so that the funds freed in this manner be used to give raises to workers still employed. The facts have shown that this idea is seldom if ever used.

It has turned out to be the case that a growth or drop in production or in management efficiency does not always bring a raise in wages. The lack of punishment for violating regulations is demoralizing. If regulations are bad or useless, they must either be annulled or changed but if they are good, then everything must be done to see that they are followed.

Therefore, why do we never hear about supervisors or quality controllers having their pay docked for allowing defects to pass inspection? Why have we never read in the press that a division director or plant director was removed or held accountable for allowing "wasteful" activities of a department or place of employment?



If, for example, a quality controller knows that he will lose some of his earnings for every faulty product that he passes, he immediately changes from an understanding liberal to a hard nose. Where before he would allow bad products to pass without any fear of penalty and it was the faceless state that lost the money, now it is he himself that must pay the cost for poor work.

In turn, if a worker sees that any poor products that he makes will not pass quality inspection or bring any earnings, he will come to understand that bad work simply does not pay. We do not even have to add how important improved product quality is under the conditions of market unbalance or strained export trade.

### Two Roads to Restructuring

There are two roads to the restructuring of employment. One of them is toleration of natural fluctuation of cadres (amounting to as much as two million employees per year). This is most often caused when workers quit heavy manual labor and cross over to take jobs with firms where the work is lighter and the pay better. This pay race can in the end lead to a wage-and-price spiral with catastrophic economic and social consequences.

The other road is decisive transfer of excess employees in non-productive jobs to direct material production and a planned change of pay proportions for heavy work or jobs demanding high qualifications. This road is a much harder one to take but it is the only one to the goal of increased management efficiency. It has become really necessary in the face of the low increment of work force resources in the coming five-year period.

A naive and dangerous trend is faith in the automatic action of economic mechanisms. This faith is a characteristic of persons that adhere to the original premises of economic reform which did not consider the magnitude and negative effects of economic imbalance, where people believed in the magical effects of the market mechanism. If we want to assure ourselves of economic direction at the right pace and in the right direction, we must increase the guiding role taken by the economic center.

The elections campaign should be the beginning of a broad conversation between the government and public about the economy. We must not gloss over in silence the achievements of recent years or make a secret either of our past difficulties or the means now being used to overcome them and eliminate the disproportions and distortions that have grown out of our old errors. That will not weaken the government's standing with the public but make it stronger.

After all, prevention is a cheaper and more effective means of eliminating distortions than fire-brigade measures. Decisive action (and not just threats) increases the authority of the government and gives it the necessary support of the decided majority of society.

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 16-17

[Interview with Professor Przemyslaw Wojcik by Maria Supranowicz: "Toil"]

[Text] [Question] One of the basic categories of Marxist philosophical anthropology is human labor. It is labor that is supposed to create man. Labor is what made him human and gave rise to human societies.

[Answer] I do not entirely agree with this. Biologists claim that man was the product of the growth of his brain.

[Question] Marx wrote that "Man differs from hard-working ants in that before he starts to build a house, it has already taken a complete form in his thoughts". Is the idea of one's goal for working important?

[Answer] Communities were formed from conscious reproduction of societies and conscious creation of the conditions for its growth. In spite of what is popularly believed, the struggle for survival was only a small part of the activity of our ancestors. In their close-knit and inter-related groups, work in its strictest sense as a means of sustenance did not take up more than three hours a day. The rest of the day was devoted to individual and group social needs. Even now, independent African nations are having to deal with a tribal population that does not want to work more than a few hours a day because it feels that that is all that is required to live. It was only Western European civilization that yoked man to his work.

[Question] Man was yoked to labor much earlier, during the period of slavery! Let us go back even further: even the Bible states that man will live by toil and the sweat of his brow.

[Answer] I feel that the Bible passage about the curse of work is completely false. It is a philosophy of slave-holders addressed to their slaves to keep them obedient. Work was not thought of in terms of sin as long as there was no sharp division of society into masters and slaves. This passage is for me a typical example that came into being once class opposition had already existed. I do not identify the idea of civilization with that of capitalism. Classical slavery only occurred in the Mediterranean civilizations.

[Question] It seems to me that the words of the "Holy Book" have shaped the awareness of the inhabitants of protestant countries who feel that earnest, hard work will lead to salvation and that work is almost a form of daily prayer.

[Answer] Protestantism really made a step forward and in some sense revalued work as compared to Catholic feudalism. In this religion, it was not work itself that became the cult object but rather the results of work. The expression of God's providence was wealth and in this sense it could be said that Protestantism was a force that supported capitalism. On the other hand, with regard to the workers' attitude to work, I do not see anything helpful in

the influence of that religion. Let me refer to Friedrich Engel's "Position of the Working Class in England". That was a protestant country too but what sort of living conditions did the people have? Today in the 20th century, you fairy tales about how protestantism is what made the Swedes, Germans and English work so well but I just think that these are ideological myths.

[Question] However, there is a widespread conviction that they do work differently, maybe better than Poles...

[Answer] That they work differently? In the 1970's there were studies done in Poland which showed that the labor intensity of a Polish worker is about the same as that of a worker in Western Europe but that his productivity was several times less. This is because the level of technology is much better in the West and that has its consequences on the productivity of public work. They also say that the work organization is incomparably better than in Poland as well as the work ethic. Those societies experienced their mass migrations from the countryside to the cities quite a long time ago. For us these problems are new. In any country, a change of environment creates adjustment problems. If the organization of labor is good, people adapt more quickly. On the other hand, if there is chaos, it takes people longer to adjust. After some time, if people, even those from the countryside, continue finding a mess of poor organization at work, they become either demoralized or quite anxious because how much of one's life can be spent under such conditions?

[Question] If we look at Poland's past, it seems as if these problems were not so important to the Polish "organics" [organicznicy] of the end of the 19th century. One of them, Maksymilian Jackowski wrote in 1870 that: "I therefore ask, who better serves the nation -- he who works to raise the level of morality and education and prepares the ground for genuine democracy or he uses constant discord to tear minds away from work, gambles everything on blind fate and cries out bravely 'To arms!'". As the opposite of these romantic distractions, work was supposed save the Polish people and make them stronger.

[Answer] I do not agree with the contemporary philosophy of opposing the liberational desires of the working people. I think that the real "organics" must have had a great romantic image of the world. The entire concept of organic labor was created by the great romantics. The creator of the cooperative movement in Poznan was Father Augustyn Szamarzewski who took part in the 1848 uprising and was sent to prison. He later participated in the 1863 uprising and was again imprisoned. It after after the second imprisonment that he found one way to save Poland's national identity: by raising the work ethic and saving the Polish culture of those regions, which at that time meant saving the Polish culture of the peasants. Even just this one example shows how incorrect it is the oppose organic slogans with national liberation slogans and vice versa. Organic work stripped of all of its romantic aspirations means nothing more than "let's get rich". This is something we already know about, especially from the 1970's. What has it taught us?

[Question] Poles do not seem to have patience for the daily grind, the type of work that does not produce quick results.

[Answer] I think that that is a myth too, a technocratic myth. If this were true, why is it that Poles work so well for firms in the West, in Africa or Asia? Why is it that work is so well organized there? Why did the railway worker or tool-maker have their own work ethic before the war? If that was how things were before the war, what went wrong? Is it something in the national character or the errors of the system?

[Question] Polls conducted among Polish youth have confirmed a widespread opinion that people in Poland work mainly for themselves rather than for the country or for any ideal.

[Answer] Above all, people work to support themselves. The results of that poll made obvious a certain amount of infantility on the part of the young inexperienced generation. One has to have lived a little to learn to understand people rather than live just for oneself.

[Question] It is very often said that in Poland people work to make it to the first of the next month but no longer plan anything past that point or save any money. What is the pattern of consumption in a socialist society? What can we expect from working hard? Will we be able to buy ourselves a house and garden in 10 years?

[Answer] I think that there are a couple of patterns that are not determined by choice but by possibilities. In Poland, 32 percent of the families and 60 percent of the retired people live at or below the established minimum social level and have to be very careful to make it from one month to the next. Studies have shown that 30-40 percent of workers, engineers and technicians that finish 8 hours of work each day in a state-owned firm must have a second job in order to have a reasonably good standard of living. That gives lie to the claim that we are a nation of loafers and also shows how foolish the system is. After 8 hours of hard work, a person would be able to live well. If he has to work 10-12 hours a day, where does that put us? Even in the 19th century, the capitalists realized that the shorter the job, the more productive it is than one lasting 12 hours. If we have to add the time spent riding to and from work...These are the consequences of poor work organization and bad management.

[Question] You talked about what is taking place in practice. I was asking about the pattern that we should expect to see.

[Answer] I do not believe that after 10 years we will have a house and garden or a car. One must have the initiative or a father with such enterprise, a money-maker. For normal people, such a standard of living is out of their reach.

[Question] Work is a means of support and also a social necessity, maybe even a source of personal satisfaction. The last is shown to be true by the fact that many skilled workers die within one year of retiring.

[Answer] That is true of only a few professions and is connected with that worker's having been "consumed" by his job. For example, in West Germany, steel workers have a life expectancy which is 17 years less than that of a professor.

[Question] There are people who die once they leave their jobs but have also frequently been treated as elements of production. People talk about the "human factor" and say that people are treated like objects. Who can be the subject of work -- is it only those who have creative jobs?

[Answer] I think that, in modern industry and at the present level of technology, man is and will for a long time be the "human factor" in production. On the other hand, there is a series of areas of social and political life that can provide compensation, where there exists the possibility of being creative. Such a possibility is the worker self-management council where people can participate in solving the most important problems of their place of work, community and nation.

[Question] Despite this, does there exist in Poland an attitude of alienation to work?

[Answer] of course. Its cause lies in bureaucratic tendencies that deprive people of their ability to influence their environment.

[Question] It seems to me that man's being an object who sells his ability to work as a product is more of a characteristic of capitalism.

[Answer] It is characteristic of both capitalism and socialism. We still must overcome work alienation and we are traveling the same road here that capitalism once took. I would like to add that this is where we get all of our technology and labor organization. Abolishing this alienation is a process rather than an act of law. I find fault with our science, managers and technicians that in the organization of labor in Poland they not only use the newest achievements of capitalism but also pass up the possibilities created by socialism. We are repeating all of the stupid mistakes that we used to make.

[Question] What sort of conditions do Poles work under?

[Answer] Out of 7,500,000 workers, 4,700,000 or two-thirds work under conditions of varying degrees of harmfulness to health. According to the State Inspectorate of Work Safety and the State Labor Inspectorate, 2,200,000 persons work under very harmful conditions that exceed all permissible standards. Worker toxic exposure has today been doubled: once at the place of work and once again at the place of residence. Today, 15 percent of the population and 30 percent of workers live in regions affected by ecological catastrophe. If a program for environmental protection is not realized, filters and protective devices installed and the production technology changed, then in 5-10 years as much as 50 percent of the population and two-thirds of Poland's workers will be living in regions that are ecologically devastated. These are the prospects we face.

[Question] The average person is unaware of this...

[Answer] It is not the average person who is responsible but those who make decisions and know what dangers we are facing. A lack of imagination should disqualify people running for public office or trying to obtain managerial positions. We use the impermissible approach that we can afford to poison our people and then pay for their medical treatment but we cannot afford to prevent their health being damaged.

[Question] In the five-volume work, "The Position of the Working Class in Poland", prepared by the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Working Class Research, the first volume, "Working Conditions and Health of Workers", edited by yourself, gave the following data. Industry has 1200 fatal accidents per year. More than 100,000 people per year retire as invalids and there are about 10,000 cases of professional illness each year. When compared with the data of 10, 5 or even two years ago, it is very obvious that these figures are growing.

[Answer] I do not wish to contradict that or retract anything that I have said before but a few points must be made here because this is a complicated matter. As medicine becomes more sophisticated, the list of illnesses grows and so does absenteeism. This does not mean that the public's health is declining. It is true that the number of medical absences is increasing but it is also a fact that more effective treatment has given us better early diagnosis and longer lives.

[Question] Some psychologists say that the increasing absence rate among employees is a symptom of the public mood.

[Answer] That can be considered empirically. Some very striking results were provided by some studies on how workers in several factories viewed their state of health and their objective state of health. The study first polled the workers and then all of them received medical examinations. What was learned? About 100 percent of the women who considered themselves sick actually were while 20 percent of the men were hypochondriacs. On the other hand, 40 percent of the women who felt that they were very healthy were disqualified by doctors while 50 percent of the men who claimed good health were similarly disqualified. Therefore, as long as people can get around, they feel that they are healthy. It is only when they fall out that they think they are sick. The actual state of their health is often much worse than they think. In stressful situations, this factor of internal mobilization fails but that is a normal social mechanism and one cannot take offense at such a mechanism.

[Question] One often hears that Poles have a reluctant attitude toward professional work, that we are having a labor crisis.

[Answer] If there is a crisis, it is not one of labor but of its organization and of certain concepts. For some time now, some efforts have been made to treat workers as wage earners and the introduction of reform has reinforced this tendency. However, it turned out that people did not react to incentives

in the way that organizers supposed they would. But is that a labor crisis or a crisis of labor organization and a crisis of the mentality of some?

[Question] In the volume you edited in the cited work, one reads that "today's state of work safety and hygiene in Poland has been determined by the fact that since the middle of the 1940's, any concern for working conditions or job safety took second place to production which was considered the most important problem". That is how it has been for 40 years.

[Answer] Even longer. Work safety was not at its best before the war either. We must also remember that there have now emerged new branches of industry and new investments that are still more harmful to human health. At the present time we are seeing a situation in which the West is exporting to third-world countries the industries that are harmful to worker health or environmentally destructive. Therefore, it is not thousands of people that are being poisoned in the United States but in India.

[Question] It is most of all the employee and worker who suffers in Poland and is so unwilling to work.

[Answer] This philosophy of complaining about the working class and people of Poland displeases me. I think that this is a normal nation, like any other and I would just like to know what sort of trick this is to continually play the wise man on the subject of our supposed immaturity. A nation is what it is. Politicians and managers must be able to deal with it. If they are unable to do so, they should not complain but give up their jobs or resign...

#### Worker Blasts 'Consultation Mania'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Plucinski: "We Cannot Afford Consultation Mania"]

[Text] I am annoyed by the real landslide of meetings, conferences and constant anniversaries or birthdays observed without any restraint. People are celebrating any old occasion to pretend that there are no real problems.

At the same time, comrades and workers are more often asking if we can afford to do this. Is it possible that in this age of telecommunications that are not completely used and most often out of order in villages, we must range the country from end to end, burning up our rationed gasoline and spending millions of zlotys on hotels and delegations?

Comrades, look at offices, housing administrations, transportation divisions agriculture or health care on any normal day. Crowds of bureaucrats spend nearly everyday gadding about. For what?

I think that has become too much a part of our way of doing things. It is not up to me to figure out how this happened. It is up to all of this to understand and act against bad habits.



We are trying to do this at my steel mill. Examples? An event of nationwide important occurred at my plant: the 30th anniversary of our first pig iron casting was in February. Ever since then, we have cast iron on an industrial level. On the other hand, we have been seriously behind plan because of a series of malfunctions last winter.

It looked like a holiday. We limited ourselves to scientific sessions and awards to deserving workers, people who really work hard. However, it was only once we had caught up with our plan in May that we gave them the awards.

In Poland's largest factory, we demand good work habits relative to the needs of the moment. For example, proposed that birthdays not be celebrated at work. The decisive majority admitted that we were right and agreed to our proposal. It is only in this manner, each one of us in his own place of work, that we can change bad working habits.

Let us consider that we will be followed in this by other individuals at different levels of administration and management.

12261  
CSO: 2600/1053

POLAND

# SEJM DELEGATE CLARIFIES POINTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BILL

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Satala: "Dr Witold Zakrzewski Completes Material Concerning Higher Education Bill"]

[Text] Two weeks ago in the magazine OD PIATKU DO PIATKU, we commented on the new form of the bill on higher education in an article entitled "An End to Controversy --a Return to Everyday Life...". Among other things, it mentioned model statutes, social councils, the election of a rector, senates by election and appointment, principles governing the employment of teaching personnel, study disciplines, taking of names off the books. Following adjournment of the Sejm session, at which a new text of the bill was passed, Prof Witold Zakrzewski, chairman and delegate to the Sejm Committee on Legislative Affairs returned to Cracow, where he as one who is most knowledgeable on the subject under discussion was invited by the editorial staff for some comments on the subject of amendments, particularly in matters which were treated too narrowly in our article. Let us therefore give the floor to Prof Zakrzewski.

## Social Councils

The problems of social councils were broadly discussed by delegates, and the state plan was substantially changed on this point. The general principle is such that national provincial councils can, but are not compelled to, create social councils in the various colleges. The actual national provincial councils decide on the composition of these councils, but there exists the demand for obtaining the opinion of the senates and the rectors of the schools interested regarding the form of those social bodies. The roles of the social councils have also been decided by law stating that they cannot domineeringly encroach upon the sphere of the autonomy of schools, inasmuch as they have been appointed to: promote the utilization of the potential of schools or a school for the benefit of social, economic and cultural needs of the region; to administer aid to schools or a school in their performance.

During the course of committee and subcommittee discussions, the informal advisory body which once existed at the Mining-Metallurgical Academy [AGH] was used as an example, which assured assistance, especially in the sphere of equipping the AGH workshop, which is used for research and instruction in compliance with the need for developing mining and metallurgy.

#### The Senate

The Sejm introduced a distinction in the composition of the senate between members of the senate and persons participating in its work with an advisory note, and therefore without voting rights. This narrow role was extended to administrative directors, the bursar as well as the director of the main library to the extent that the statute does not make him a member of the senate, as well as to the representative of self-government of student homes. Limiting the composition representing the senate in this fashion facilitated the attainment of 70 percent of the composition by professors and assistant professors (70 and not 75 percent). Likewise the Sejm was informed by the ministry concerning significant differences in the number of professors and assistant professors in the large and small colleges, especially those recently appointed or formed for special purposes. In connection with this, the Sejm introduced regulations stipulating that if the senate was to be legally designed to have less than 70 percent of professors and assistant professors, then the number of representatives of faculty councils will be increased in order to reach these limits. By the same token the authorization of the minister to appoint a senate otherwise organized was limited to completely special cases, for example, the school for the education of teachers of handicapped children, which of course does not possess an adequate number of independent employees.

#### The Dean

A dean is elected by the faculty council on identical principles governing the election of a rector by the senate. The difference depends on the fact, that inasmuch as the minister can question individual candidates for rector, the rector in agreement with the minister can question candidates proposed for the position of dean.

#### Principles of Employment

The Sejm introduced an article into the bill which reads as follows: "...in matters concerning a solution to labor relations associated with an appointment, the educational-instructional employee can complain to the Main Administration Court on the basis and in a mode set out in the code of administrative procedure. In other matters regarding labor relation claims concerning educational-instructional employees, the rules of the labor code are applicable."

In the area of employment principles for young teaching personnel, the wording does not distinguish between changed and unchanged regulations. Namely, the principle of appointing an assistant for 2 years and an older assistant for 3 years with the right to renew for the next 3 years, has been in existence. On

the other hand the regulation concerning tutors was changed. They can be appointed for three consecutive 3-year terms and not as before for a 5 or 4-year term. This means that they have retained the same 9 years to qualify as assistant professors. It was likewise stipulated in the transition regulations that the final period concerning a tutor hired earlier is calculated from the date the 1982 statute became effective. It was done this way to avoid depriving those tutors of prior acquired rights.

#### Forms of Oath

Educational-instruction employees will now have to take an oath. The statute includes two oath-form wordings for the young as well as the older teaching personnel. The wording of the form for young employees according to article 132, statute 2 reads as follows:

"Being fully aware of my duties, I solemnly pledge that as an academic teacher I shall actively participate in the educational and instructional college activities and contribute to the education and training of students as future ideological and enlightened citizens of the Polish People's Republic, as a socialist state, methodically improve my own pedagogical and teaching qualifications; in my conduct I shall be guided by the good of the state and the constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic. I shall perform my duties conscientiously."

And here is the form of the oath for older educational-instructional personnel:

"Being fully aware of my duties, I solemnly pledge:

--to educate and train students to become ideological and enlightened citizens of Polish People's Republic, as a socialist state; actively involve those qualified in the development of the economy and the national culture;

--educate and train the educationally capable young cadre to guarantee the development of education, culture and the national economy;

--actively participate in educational college activities;

--be completely guided in my conduct by the good of the state and the constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic, defend the dignity of academic teachers and the good name of the school."

#### Exclusion From the Student List

Very essential is a passage from article 119a discussing the exclusion of a student from the list. It reads as follows: "In case a student commits an offense constituting a particular social detriment, and the inflicting of punishment on the student in a punitive proceeding, or in a proceeding in matters of offenses related to the creation of a disturbance, the rector, and in case of his absence, the actual minister, depending on the nature of the act and the degree of guilt after having heard the opinion of the disciplinary spokesman, can take the student off the books."

Hence, a very essential change relating to the government plan occurred here. Expelling requires not only the perpetration of an offense, but furthermore the inflicting of punishment must in fact follow. Only a combination of both these circumstances permits thinking about expulsion, of course after considering the nature of the act and the degree of guilt, because after all not every public disturbance can be considered as an offense of particular social harm. Furthermore, a student can appeal such a decision to the Main Administrative Court in accordance with the principles of the Code of Administrative Procedure [KPA].

#### The Results of Qualifying for Assistant Professor

If a tutor has completed studies qualifying him as an assistant professor while on the faculty, then he retains the position to the time of approval or disapproval as assistant professor trainee by the Central Qualification Committee. If the Central Qualification Committee confirmed the program qualifying him as assistant professor, then the tutor retains the position for the next one-half year. At that time the minister can appoint him as assistant professor on the recommendation of the college, and can likewise regard him as having been appointed for an unspecified time at his alma mater when the interest of the school, the educational discipline or the demands and conditions of joint research work require it. Finally the minister can likewise assign a school or other organizational unit conducting educational activity to the assistant professor trainee in which he will be employed as assistant professor or in some other capacity in keeping with his qualifications.

It is necessary to clearly state that the amended wording of the bill precludes extending the training period for tutors who have not qualified as assistant professors; however, at the same time it outlines the duties of the minister in guaranteeing work for the doctors with assistant professor trainees.

9951

CSO: 2600/1049

POLAND

BRIEFS

PRON AIDS IN WOMAN'S RELEASE--The Torun district prosecutor announced on 2 October that he had released Wanda Antoniewicz from preventive custody. Antoniewicz was detained early last month together with two other people when an illegal print shop, printing a paper instigating public unrest, was uncovered. The prosecutor released her for humanitarian reasons, at the request of and on guarantees from the Presidium of the Turn Voivodship PRON Council. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Oct 85 p 5]

NEW DEPUTY COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER--According to a request from the Communications Minister, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled General Leon Kolatkowski from the post of Deputy Communications Minister and appointed Colonel Andrzej Blaszkow to the post. General Leon Kolatkowski is joining the diplomatic service. Andrzej Blaszkow was born in 1926 at Rasztowce near Tarnopol to a farmers' family. He attended the Jaroslaw Dabrowski Military Technical Academy, graduating with a M.Sc. in communications engineering. During more than 40 years in military service he has occupied several responsible posts as commander and specialist, including posts in communications units--from chief communications officer of a battalion to deputy commander of the National Defense Ministry's communications units. For many years now, he has been supervising comprehensive improvements of military communications systems. He has been cooperating closely with the Communications Ministry. He is taking part in the work of the Comecon's Permanent Communications Commission. He is a member of the PZPR. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 5]

CSO: 2020/16

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

APPOINTMENT, REMOVAL OF OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade George Ciucu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of education and instruction. Comrade Viorica Neculau is appointed deputy minister of education and instruction. Comrade Iosif Tripsa is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. Comrade Octavian Floarea is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. Comrade Veronica Ciobanete is relieved of her position as state secretary in the Ministry of Health and appointed deputy minister of health. Comrade Dan-Emanuel Georgescu is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Health. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 46, 21 Sep 85 p 2]

CSO: 2700/13

END